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THE
EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

THE
EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

FROM HIS EARLIEST LETTERS
TO HIS FIFTY-THIRD YEAR

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF TIME

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

*FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE, WITH
A COMMENTARY CONFIRMING THE CHRONOLOGICAL
ARRANGEMENT AND SUPPLYING FURTHER
BIOGRAPHICAL MATTER*

BY FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS

VOLUME THREE

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INTRODUCTION

THE word "amateur" has fallen on evil days. Like its predecessor in an earlier generation, "dilettante," it no longer means to us one who loves his work and delights to make it as full and perfect as he can; but we contrast such an one with the professional who has been elaborately trained to his task, who organises it with careful foresight, and completes it precisely upon the lines ordained. Such trained work has all the merits of accuracy. There are no lapses, no omissions, no anomalies, such as the amateur easily perpetrates. But it has its dangers too. A rigorous system is apt to enslave the spirit under a burden of detail, to rivet the eyes upon the ground near at hand, and prevent them from being lifted up unto the hills. And here the advantage rests with the man who, loving his work, takes freedom to enrich it all he can; not fearing to enlarge or prune it as it advances, merely because this would vary his first plan. No reader desires to find an absence of method: the blind accumulation of detail quickly produces a trackless confusion. But, on the other hand, a book may contain just what it should, may have all its capital letters in the right places, every italic and inverted comma and reference correct, and yet lack valuable material because its editor has been too careful in little things, and has feared—or not read widely enough—to expatiate. It may be questioned which of the two defects is nearer to the mean.

The translator of these letters was an amateur in the best sense of the word. He found his work irresistibly attractive,

and he gave himself to it without reserve. His apprenticeship to severe scholarship had been served long ago, when he produced, in 1865, what is likely to remain the classic edition of Britton, for which he had examined twenty-six manuscripts and collated several of them. He had interested himself in the Roman Forum, in the days before excavation had solved many of the problems raised by the buildings still remaining on that fascinating site; and a translation, with notes, of the quaint medieval guide-book, *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, showed him to be not only a scholar himself, but the friend of distinguished scholars abroad. Then the hall of his Essex home, Lawford Hall, drew him on to write of its many illustrious owners, one of whom had been William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Erasmus' pupil and his "vetustissimus Moecenas" in this country; and this aroused his interest in Erasmus.

Thus, when nearing seventy, at an age when most men are retiring from arduous work, he set himself to a task which one of Erasmus' biographers had pronounced to be well-nigh impossible—the arrangement of his early letters, with a translation to make them accessible to English readers. With this was to be combined a commentary, to illustrate the correspondence and fill in the gaps with what was known of Erasmus' life from other sources.

It so happened that my own work of editing Erasmus' letters in the original, which had been approved by Froude during his brief tenure of the Oxford chair of Modern History, began about the same time. A publication in the *Academy*, Oct. 1895, brought me into communication with one who I feared at first might be a rival in my chosen project. But correspondence soon dispelled such apprehensions; and after we had exchanged many letters, I received an invitation to visit him at the villa in Ryde, Wellington Lodge, which he and his wife were then (Nov. 1896) occupying for the winter. After a long train journey

in pouring rain and a late arrival, I awoke next day to one of those delightful surprises that our climate sometimes offers—a mild, soft morning of brilliant sunshine and unclouded sky. The forenoon was spent in discussing many points, and comparing notes to see what each could contribute to the other's list of Erasmus' letters. But what dwells most in my memory is the lesson that my host gave me as to the importance of examining with care such biographical material as was available. In particular he directed my attention to that valuable document, the *Compendium vite Erasmi*, the authenticity of which had been long debated. My own work, begun three years before, had been in the main accumulation and arrangement. I had had help in Oxford, but, of necessity, little guidance in detail. A long walk past Quarr in the afternoon carried on our conversation; and I left next morning with a clear sense of method gained and lines laid down which I have since followed with profit. I was glad that opportunities of research at Basle and Schlettstadt, and prolonged labours in Oxford libraries, enabled me to offer brass in return for his gold.

Though he was usually at a distance from libraries, his work proceeded rapidly. The first volume was necessarily the most difficult; since it had to contain not only the preliminary biographical material, but also the letters—rather more than two hundred—of Erasmus' earlier years, many of which had survived without date, and had only been printed without their author's sanction and long after his death, while the year-dates even of those which Erasmus had published himself were often hopelessly inaccurate and misleading. It embraced Erasmus' durance in the monastery of Steyn, his student-years at Paris and Louvain, his first two visits to England, and the three years of his visit to Italy. The chronology for this whole period, Erasmus' life till the age of forty-three, presented numerous difficulties. There were

few points that had as yet been definitely fixed ; and much minute work was necessary before a framework for the correspondence could be constructed.

The translation, too, involved much thought. Erasmus was a master of Latin, and could write in any style that he fancied ; according to the mood of the moment or the character of the person addressed. It was not strictly the Latin of the Romans. In the thousand years that had passed since their empire fell, the world had seen and learnt much which the Romans never knew. To express the new words and ideas in rigidly classical language was a formalism of which Erasmus was incapable. Others might pride themselves on using no term which was not Ciceronian. Erasmus' free spirit required a living language which could adapt itself to the ever-changing conditions of human life : not indeed discarding grace—for the use of words was to him an art in which he had trained himself with the utmost care—but dreading that solemn elegance in which many of his contemporaries were content to enfold and conceal their meaning. Such freedom makes for clearness ; but at times a translator is confronted with riddles of words, which can be read only by careful collation of other instances to give a clue ; and the very rapidity and ease with which a living language is written may raise problems which need close consideration. Nor was there only Erasmus. Many of the letters are written to him by his friends, in very different styles which needed distinction ; all of them less flowing and lucid than Erasmus', some so crabbed and involved as to be scarcely intelligible. The adaptation of a translation to such various originals was a task requiring great taste and delicacy.

However, all these obstacles were steadily surmounted ; and by the end of 1901 the first volume appeared. Three years later came the second, carrying forward the years from 1509 to 1517, and raising the number of letters trans-

lated, some wholly, others only in part, to nearly six hundred. This had been at first the limit of the translator's design, but his work was to him an endless delight ; and though now nearing eighty, he could not lay it down. A third volume was arranged, carrying forward the correspondence for a year and a half, and the letters to more than eight hundred ; an exceptionally large number having chanced to survive for the years 1517-18. Unhappily by this time his memory had begun to fail. The work proceeded, but less rapidly than before ; and he was sometimes harassed by the discovery of repetitions and even contradictions in what he had set up in type for the new volume. Nevertheless, with indomitable patience and unruffled sweetness of temper, in a situation which to most men would have brought profound and disheartening vexation, he went steadily on ; and after some years had his third and last volume practically ready for the press. But, conscious of imperfections in it, he never could make up his mind to take the final step of issuing it. It is here presented to the world almost as he left it, as a coping-stone to an achievement of which English scholarship may justly be proud.

The life of Erasmus is portrayed with fullness and charm during the years in which its interest is perhaps at its greatest. The young canon, burning with love of knowledge and desiring to give his life to the advancement of it, is shown as a busy student, reading voraciously, and, while steadily pursuing his aim, building up for himself a reputation which none could gainsay ; courted by kings and bishops, but holding them, though with all politeness, at arm's length, lest court-service should damp his fiery ardour and hinder the progress of his never-ending work. And there these three volumes leave him ; beloved, indeed almost worshipped, by his friends, with one of the great tasks of his life, the edition of the New Testament, just happily completed for the second time ; and of the bitter

controversies and disappointments that were to sadden his later years, as yet scarcely a trace.

It is surely a fitting coincidence that the translator and interpreter of Erasmus to the English-speaking races should have been a worker as untiring as himself. Fifty years after the publication, when he was in middle life, of his first considerable book, the *Britton*, which appeared in 1865, he still had a book upon his hands—a record which not even Erasmus equalled; and it was on his hands when he died. Until almost the end he was accustomed to take his morning walk in Hyde Park or its neighbourhood, independently alone. His tall, spare figure, alert and erect, might be seen making its way with grave courtesy through the passing crowds; his face ready to lighten with a smile for his friends, though recognition was not always easy. Some ten years before his death his old college, Wadham, of which he had once been Fellow, elected him to an honorary fellowship. It gave him great pleasure to attend a Gaudy and stay once more in college rooms; and a walk round Magdalen meadow, golden with autumn leaves in the afternoon sun, roused memories of the past. The visit also showed one of the sources of his strength, his power of quiet concentration upon his work. Calling upon a friend to look at a book not otherwise accessible to him, he found a christening-party in progress. With the book in his hand he sat himself down out of the way to read. But the house was small, and there was much coming and going, the waves of which repeatedly overflowed the corner where he was seeking quiet. Yet he worked on steadily, quite undisturbed by interruptions which most students would have found distracting; only apologising at intervals for his presence—where he was indeed most welcome. And so he completed his task as serenely as if he had been at peace in the retirement of his own study.

“Optimam Erasmi partem in libris videre licet” wrote

Erasmus once to an admirer who had travelled from Erfurt to Louvain to pay him homage, and who wished to carry back with him a letter as a visible token that he had been admitted to the presence of the great master. Anyone who turns over the pages of these translations with attention, will learn something of the spirit in which the work was done—the thoughtful examination of each problem that arose, the lucid exposition of the conclusions reached, the courtesy in differing from others without acrimony and of refuting without triumph, the sane and steady outlook upon life, the large-hearted judgments, the scholarly care for accuracy, the urbanity of the style, and above all the overmastering desire to find and see the truth. My own obligations to him I have already stated elsewhere. I am glad to have this further opportunity of recording that some of our work was done together.

P. S. ALLEN.

23 MERTON STREET, OXFORD,
14 Jan. 1917.

PREFACE

[The greater part of this book had been prepared by my father for publication in 1908. A few pages which he subsequently added are printed without the advantage of final revision from his own hand. The Preface of 1908 is here printed as it stood. To the reference made in it to Mr. P. S. Allen, Fellow of Merton College, I wish to add an acknowledgment of my great obligation to him not only for his Introduction to this volume, but for other generous help.—B. N.]

IN offering to the English reader a third volume of Translations from the correspondence of Erasmus, the translator has little to add to what has been already said, by way of Preface to his former volumes. Begun at a late period of his own life, his work is necessarily an imperfect one, having regard to the small space of time which it covers as compared with that occupied by the whole series of the extant correspondence of his author. And even for the limited period with which it deals, it has been thought better, in this as in the translator's former volumes, to be content in many cases with a partial translation or a mere description of an Epistle, in order to make it possible to include a fuller version of other Letters of undeniable interest and importance. In this, as in other respects, he cannot assume with any confidence, that his treatment of the subject has been free from errors or omissions. He trusts nevertheless, that it may serve to induce some English readers to follow, from year to year and from month to month, the correspondence of a circle of scholars and leaders of thought, among whom Erasmus

was the central figure, at a supremely important epoch in the history of European progress.

In this Preface to a fresh volume of Translations, the compiler cannot refrain from offering to every student already interested in the Correspondence of Erasmus, and to the larger class, which may in future be included in that description, his congratulation upon the issue, already begun under the auspices of the University of Oxford, of a new edition of these Epistles in their original language. This edition will be the first in which any serious attempt has been made to put before the reader this collection of letters as originally written, arranged in detail according to their proper chronological order. The task of editing this work, of which the first volume was issued some two years since, has been undertaken by Mr. Percy Stafford Allen, to whom the compiler of these pages has been indebted for occasional advice and assistance during a great part of the time in which he has been occupied with his work. The present writer has reached an age which forbids him to look forward with any confidence to a further addition to his own limited work.* He has no less reason for expressing his hearty wish that his friend's more important task may be continued to a successful termination.

The Chronological Register of Epistles, which follows our Table of Contents, is in its earlier part repeated, with some corrections, from the last four pages of the Register printed in our first volume, which beginning with the earliest extant letters of Erasmus, ended at the close of the year 1517. The later part is added to supply a list of the letters, —dated for the most part in the early months of the following year,—which complete the series of Translations here offered to the reader.

* [He was born 29 April, 1826; died 9 December, 1915.]

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CHRONOLOGICAL REGISTER

OF THE EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

FROM THE NINETEENTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1517, TO THE TENTH
OF SEPTEMBER, 1518.



THE following Chronological Register may serve as a second and more minute Table of Contents to the present volume, which contains translations of Epistles bearing date from the nineteenth day of August, 1517, to the thirteenth of December, 1518. The earlier numbers (597 to 719) are repeated (with corrections) from the Register of Epistles printed at the beginning of the first volume of these Translations; and the later numbers (720 to 823) are added in order to carry on the series to the date at which our Translations end. The numbers of the Sections in the Register correspond with the numbers of the Chapters in the volume; the first Section being Section XXXIX. and the first Chapter, Chapter XXXIX.

In this list, the Epistles of which the writer is not named are by Erasmus himself. Those of others are registered in *Italics*. Dedications and Prefatory Epistles prefixed to books are included, some of them having already taken their place among the Epistles. The dates are, as to most of the letters, added,—wholly or in part,—by the writers themselves; those supplied or corrected by inference or conjecture being placed within brackets. Upon the variance of year-date before Easter some remarks will be found in the Introduction to the first volume of this work. See pp. lxxiii., lxxix.

After the date in the same line follow references to the printed copies of the Epistle. The usual references are, first, to the book in which the Epistle was first published; but in the case of Epistles derived from the Deventer Manuscript (see Introduction to vol. I. p. xxvi.), the sign D precedes; then follow references to other printed books in which the Epistle may be found. In these references to books, the following abbreviations are used. E. a. = *Epistolæ aliquot* etc. (see Introduction, p. xxviii.); E. s. q. e. = *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* (p. xxix.); Auct. = *Auctarium Epistolarum* (p. xxx.); F. = *Farrago Epistolarum* (p. xxxi.); E. a. d. = *Epistolæ ad diversos* (p. xxxii.); O. E. = *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529 (p. xxxiv.); M. = the volume published by Merula (p. xlv.); S. = *Vita* etc. *Scrivarii auspiciis*, 1615, (p. li.).

The other usual references are to the London edition of the Epistles of Erasmus (see p. lii. of the same Introduction), the two numbers given (as in the first Epistle of the following list, vii. 4) being those of the Book and Epistle in that collection; and to the third volume of Le Clerc's edition of the Works of Erasmus, cited as C, the number which follows C referring to the page,—and the number added in parenthesis being the number,—of the Epistle in that edition. Where reference is made to any other volume of Le Clerc's book, the number of the volume is mentioned before that of the page, as C. i. 559.

For a general history of the publication of the Epistles of Erasmus, the reader is referred to the Introduction to our first volume. The evidence determining the dates of the letters and the order here adopted appears in the latter or main part of this work, which contains a translation or some shorter notice of each Epistle, arranged in Chapters, to which the numbered sections of this Register correspond.

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- 668 To John [German] Louvain 2 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1639 (199)
 669 To Peter Barbier Louvain, 2 Nov. 1517 *Auct.*; iii. 36; C. 270 (275)
 670 To Listrius Louvain, 2 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1639 (200)
 671 To Jac. Banisius Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1639 (201)
 672 To Gillis Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517 F. 196; vii. 38; C. 216 (222)
 673 To Caesarius Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1639 (202)
 674 To [Count Nuenar] Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1641 (203)
 675 To Ernest, Duke of Louvain, 4 Nov. 1517 *Auct.*; iii. 34; C. 271 (276)
 Bavaria
 676 *More to E.* Calais, 5 Nov. 1517 *Auct.*; iii. 8; C. 1641 (204)
 677 *Bp. of Utrecht to E.* Vellenhoe[6 Nov.] 1517 *Auct.*; iii. 47; C. 273 (282)
 678 To Afinius Louvain [Nov.] 1517 D; C. 1652 (227)
 679 To Gillis Louvain [Nov.] 1517 D; C. 1651 (226)
 680 To Gillis Louvain, 10 Nov. [1517] F. 195; vii. 35; C. 1775 (386)

XLIV. Louvain. November, 1517.

- 681 *Jac. Banisius to E.* Antwerp, 12 Nov. 1517 F. 167; vi. 34; C. 271 (277)
 682 *Geo. Spalatinus to E.* Aldenburg, 13 Nov. 1517 F. 374; xi. 23; C. 272 (278)
 683 To Cardinal Grimani Louvain, 13 Nov. 1517 *Paraphrasis in Ep. ad*
 (Dedication) *Romanos*, Præf.; C. vii. 771
 684 To Berselius Louvain [Nov.] 1517 D; C. 1653 (231)
 685 To Gillis Louvain, 15 Nov. [1517] F. 185; vii. 18; C. 357 (344)
 686 To Reuchlin Louvain, 15 Nov. [1517] *Ill. vir. Ep.*; Geiger,
 Reuchlin, 266
 687 To Gillis Louvain [Nov.] 1517 F. 193; vii. 30; C. 286 (288)
 688 To Noviomagus Louvain, 16 Nov. 1517 *Auct.*; iii. 35; C. 272 (279)
 689 *Listrius to E.* Zwolle [Nov. 1517] D; C. 1587 (104)
 690 To Gillis* Louvain [1517] E. a. d. 654; C. 541 (495)
 691 To Laurinus Louvain, 19 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1643 (208)
 692 To Banisius Louvain [Nov. 1517] F. 167; vi. 35; C. 368 (355)
 693 To Clava Louvain, 21 Nov. 1517 D; C. 1643 (209)
 694 To Laurinus Louvain [25 Nov.] 1517 D; C. 1643 (206)

* This Epistle, which properly belongs to a date a few weeks later, and consequently appears again in our Catalogue as Epistle 713B, is translated in Chapter LI. of this volume, p. 409.

695	To Pace	Louvain [25 Nov.] 1517	D ; C. 1643 (207)
696	[To a young Prelate]	Louvain [Nov.] 1517	D ; C. 1660 (245)
697	To Count Nuenar	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D ; C. 1664 (210)
698	To More	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D ; C. 1664 (212)
699	To Budé	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	F. 49; iii. 56; C. 273 (280)
700	To Lefèvre	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D ; C. 1644 (211)
701	To Pyrrhus	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D ; C. 1645 (213)
702	To Petrus Viterius	[Louvain] 1517	F. 151; vi. 17; C. 289 (294)

XIV. *Louvain. December, 1517.*

703	<i>Noviomagus to E.</i>	5 Dec. 1517	<i>Auct.</i> 208; iii. 41; C. 273 (281)
704	<i>Rombasius to E.</i>	Zurich, 6 Dec. 1517	<i>Auct.</i> 33; ii. 23; C. 274 (283)
705	To Baer	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1645 (214)
706	To Capito	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1646 (215)
707	To Beatus Rhenanus	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1646 (216)
708	To Berselius	Louvain, 9 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1647 (217)
709	To Capito	Louvain, 9 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1648 (218)
710	<i>Budé to E.</i>	Paris [12 Dec. 1517]	<i>Auct.</i> 3; ii. 20; C. 298 (304)
711	To the Bp. of Utrecht	Louvain, 13 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1649 (219)
712	[To the Bp. of Liège]	Louvain, 13 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1649 (220)
713	To the Abbot of St. Bertin	Louvain, 13 Dec. 1517	C. 275 (284)
713 ^b	To Gillis *	Louvain [Dec. 1517]	E. a. d. 654; xvii. 17; C. 541 (495)
714	To Pace	Louvain, 21 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1650 (222)
715	To Clava	Louvain, 21 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1650 (223)
716	<i>Listrius to E.</i>	Zwolle, 28 Dec. 1517	D ; C. 1651 (225)
717	To Dorpius	Louvain, 1517	D ; C. 1654 (233)
718	<i>Bp. of Liège to E.</i>	Liège, 30 Dec. 1517	<i>Auct.</i> 216; iii. 45; C. 359 (348)
719	<i>Berselius to E.</i>	Liège [Dec. 1517]	<i>Auct.</i> 211; iii. 43; C. 229 (232)

XLVI. *Louvain. January, 1518.*

720	To John of Louvain	Louvain, 2 Jan. 1518	D ; C. 1667 (254)
721	To John van Hondt	Louvain, 2 Jan. 1518	D ; C. 1667 (255)

* Epistle 713^b, which contains an eulogy of Peter Gillis's father, is omitted in Chapter XLV. of our principal work ; but is translated in Chapter LI. of this Third Volume, p. 409.

- 722 To Afinius Louvain, 6 Jan. 1518 D ; C. 1668 (256)
 723 To Barbier Louvain, 7 Jan. 1518 D ; C. 1666 (257)
 724 To Berselius Louvain, 7 Jan. 1518 *Auct.* 213 ; iii. 44 ; C. 230 (233)
 725 To Bp. of Liège Louvain, 7 Jan. 1518 *Auct.* 217 ; iii. 45 ; C. 290 (297)
 726 To Bp. of Utrecht Louvain, 10 Jan. 1518 *Auct.* 220 ; ii. 48 ; C. 290 (298)
 727 To Gerard of Louvain, 10 Jan. 1518 *Auct.* 210 ; iii. 42 ; C. 288 (292)
 Nimeguen
 728 To the Abbot of Louvain, 14 Jan. 1518 *Auct.* 162 ; iii. 18 ; C. 366 (353)
 St. Bertin
 729 To Anthony of Louvain, 14 Jan. 1518 D ; C. 1692 (309)
 Lutzenburg
 730 To Marcus Laurinus Louvain, 14 Jan. 1518 D ; C. 1669 (258)
 731 To Bade Louvain, 16 Jan. 1518 D ; C. 1669 (259)
 732 To Glarean Louvain, 18 Jan. 1518 F. 316 ; iii. 19 ; C. 295 (202)
 733 To William Nesen Louvain, 18 Jan. 1518 F. 336 ; x. 31 ; C. 291 (299)
 734 *Latimer to E.* Oxford, 30 Jan. 1518 F. 318 ; x. 22 ; C. 292 (301)

XLVII.* *Antwerp and Louvain. February, 1518.*

- 735 John Eck to E. Ingoldstadt, 2 Feb. 1518 ii. 25 ; C. 296 (303)
 736 To John Desmoulins Louvain, February, 1518 D ; C. 1657 (240)
 737 To Thomas Prout Antwerp, 21 Feb. 1518 F. 197 ; Ep. vii. 41 ;
 C. 330 (321)
 738 To Roger Wentford Antwerp, 21 Feb. 1518 D ; C. 1681 (286)
 739 To More Antwerp, 22 Feb. 1518 D ; C. 1681 (287)
 740 To Sixtinus Antwerp, 22 Feb. 1518 D ; C. 1669 (261)
 741 To Peter Vannes Antwerp, 22 Feb. 1518 D ; C. 1669 (260)
 742 To William Latimer Antwerp, 27 Feb. 1518 Ep. ad. div. 426 ; x. 23 ;
 C. 378 (363)
 743 To Budé Antwerp, 22 Feb. 1518 F. 3 ; iii. 51 ; C. 299
 (305)

* The title at the head of the forty-seventh chapter of our translations, corresponding with this section, p. 243, which ought to be Chapter XLVII., is by mistake printed Chapter XLVIII. The same number is in its proper place, p. 274.

XLVIII. *Louvain. March, 1518.*

744	<i>Richard Sampson to E.</i>	Tournay, 2 March, 1518	iii. 4; C. 305 (306)
745	To Peter Gillis	Louvain, 5 March [1518]	F. 187; vii. 21; C. 190 (209).
746	To Laurinus	Louvain, 5 March [1518]	D; C. 1671 (264)
747	To Lewis	Louvain, 5 March [1518]	D; C. 1692 (308)
748	To Sir Richard Wingfield	[Louvain, 5 March, 1518]	D; C. 1695 (313)
749	To Sir John Wiltshire	[Louvain, 5 March, 1518]	D; C. 1673 (268)
750	To Archbp. Warham	Louvain, 5 March, 1518	D; C. 1673 (269)
751	[To Thos. Biddell]	Louvain [5 March] 1518	D; C. 1695 (313)
752	To Bp. Fisher	Louvain [5 March] 1518	D; C. 1691 (306)
753	To More	Louvain, 5 March, 1518	D; C. 1671 (265)
754	To Pace	Louvain, 5 March, 1518	D; C. 1672 (266)
755	To [Mountjoy]	Louvain, 5 March, 1518	D; C. 1694 (312)
756	To Bullock	Louvain, 5 March, 1518	D; C. 1670 (263)
757	To Colet	Louvain [March] 1518	D; C. 1690 (305)
758	To Le Sauvage	Louvain, 6 March, 1518	D; C. 1673 (270)
759	To Peter Barbier	Louvain, 6 March, 1518	<i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 20; C. 306 (307)

XLIX. *Louvain. March, April, 1518.*

760	To Froben	Louvain, 12 March, 1518	D; C. 1674 (271)
761	To Capito	Louvain, 13 March, 1518	D; C. 1675 (272)
762	To Œcolampadius	Louvain, 13 March, 1518	D; C. 1675 (273)
763	To Beatus	Louvain, 13 March, 1518	D; C. 1675 (274)
764	To Afinius	Louvain, 13 March, 1518	<i>In laudem Medicinæ</i> , C. i. (535)
765	To Bombasius	Louvain, 14 March, 1518	D; C. 1676 (275)
766	<i>Bérauld to E.</i>	Paris, 16 March, 1518	<i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 5; C. 307 (309)
767	<i>Pirckheimer to E.</i>	Nuremberg, 20 March, 1518	D; C. 1594 (118)
768	To the Dean of Mechlin	Louvain, 26 March, 1518	D; C. 1677 (276)
769	To Laurinus	Louvain, Easter Monday, 5 April, 1518	C. 368 (356)
770	<i>Budé to E.</i>	Paris, 12 April, 1518	F. 10; iii. 52; C. 309 (310)

L. Louvain. April, 1518.

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|-----|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 771 | To Gerard of Nimeguen | Louvain, 17 April [1518] | F. x. 25 ; C. 134 (153) |
| 772 | To Peter Gillis | Louvain, 17 April [1518] | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 10 ; C. 236 (240) |
| 773 | To Lefèvre | Louvain, 17 April [1518] | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 9 ; C. 236 (249) |
| 774 | To Nesen | Louvain, 17 April [1518] | C. 1600 (127) |
| 775 | To Viterius | Louvain, 17 April [1518] | C. 1600 (128) |
| 776 | To Budé | Louvain, 15 April, 1518 | D ; C. 1678 (278) |
| 777 | To Bade | Louvain, [18 April, 1518] | D ; C. 1600 (226) |
| 778 | To Pace | Louvain, 22 April, 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 14 ; C. 237 (241) |
| 779 | To Gunnell | Louvain, 22 April [1518] | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 13 ; C. 237 (242) |
| 780 | To Sampson | Louvain [April] 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 5 ; C. 366 (352) |
| 781 | To Bullock | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | <i>Auct.</i> 154 ; Ep. iii. 15 ; C. 237 (243) |
| 782 | To Bishop Fisher | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | D ; C. 1604 (133) |
| 783 | To Peter Vannes | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | D ; C. 1604 (132) |
| 784 | To Sixtinus | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | D ; C. 1679 (281) |
| 785 | To Bedill | Louvain, 23 April, 1518 | D ; C. 1678 (279) |
| 786 | To Croke | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | D ; C. 1678 (280) |
| 787 | To Colet | Louvain, 23 April [1518] | F. 46 ; iv. 1 ; C. 238 (247) |
| 788 | To Busch | Louvain, 23 April, 1518 | F. 47 ; iv. 2 ; C. 316 (311) |
| 789 | To Listrius | Louvain [April] 1518 | D ; C. 1693 (310) |
| 790 | To Tunstall | Louvain, 24 April, 1518 | D ; C. 1679 (282) |
| 791 | To Grolier | Louvain, 24 April, 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 17 ; C. 316 (312) |
| 792 | To Roger Wentford | Louvain, 24 April [1518] | D ; C. 1605 (135) |
| 793 | To Henry VIII. | Louvain, 25 April, 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 16 ; C. 319 (313) |
| 794 | To More | Louvain [April] 1518 | D ; C. 1693 (311) |
| 795 | To Card. Grimani | Louvain, 26 April, 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 11 ; C. 320 (315) |
| 796 | To John Lascaris | Louvain, 26 April, 1518 | <i>Auct.</i> ; iii. 12 ; C. 319 (314) |
| 797 | To Gerard of Nimeguen | Louvain [26 April, 1518] | D ; C. 1680 (283) |
| 798 | To Cornelius Batt | Louvain, 29 April [1518] | F. 190 ; vii. 25 ; C. 238 (244) |
| 799 | To Laurinus | Louvain, 29 April [1518] | F. 191 ; vii. 27 ; C. 238 (245) |
| 800 | To Clava | Louvain, 29 April [1518] | F. 191 ; vii. 26 ; C. 238 (246) |

(10) *Chronological Register of the Epistles of Erasmus*

L.I. *Antwerp, Louvain. May to December, 1517.*

- 563^b To Cardinal Wolsey Antwerp, 18 May [1517] E. a. d. 438; xi. 1; C. 321 (317)
 585^b To Hutten Antwerp, 23 July [1517] F. 329; x. 30; C. 472 (447)
 593^b To Bérauld Antwerp, 9 Aug. [1517] F.; xi. 15; C. 335 (327)
 593^c To Hué Antwerp, 9 Aug. [1517] F.; xi. 22; C. 335 (326)
 690 To Peter Gillis Louvain [Dec. 1517] E. a. d. 654; xvii. 17; C. 541 (495)

L.II. *Basel. May to August, 1518.*

- 801 To Barbier Basel, 31 May, 1518 D; C. 1680 (284)
 802 To More Basel, 31 May, 1518 D; C. 1680 (285)
 803 To Pirckheimer Basel [August] 1518 F. 68; iv. 13; C. 384 (374)
 804 *Gillis to E.* Antwerp, 19 June [1518] F. 191; vii. 28; C. 462 (436)
 805 To Bombasius Basel, 26 July, 1518 *Auct.* 36; ii. 24; C. 401 (377)
 806 *Zasius to E.* Freiburg, 13 Aug. 1518 *Auct.* 203; iii. 38; C. 336 (328)
 807 To Zasius Basel, 23 Aug. 1518 *Auct.* 205; iii. 39; C. 347 (330)
 808 To Pucci Basel, 26 Aug. 1518 F.; v. 26; C. 348 (331)
 809 To Oswald Basel, 26 Aug. 1518 *Auct.* 202; iii. 37; C. 349 (332)
 810 To Amerbach Basel, 31 Aug. 1518 xv. 17; C. 349 (333)
 811 *Pope Leo to E.* Rome, 10 Sept. 1518 xxix. 80; *Opera Erasmii* vi. in Præf.

L.III. *Louvain, Antwerp. October, December, 1518.*

- 812 *Bombasius to E.* Rome, 1 Oct. 1518 F.; xi. 4; C. 351 (335)
 813 To Budé Louvain, 15 Oct. 1518 F.; iii. 53; C. 352 (336)
 814 To Mutianus Rufus Louvain, 17 Oct. 1518 M. 83; xxx. 4; C. 352 (337)
 815 To Eschenveld Louvain, 19 Oct. 1518 F.; iv. 5; C. 353 (339)
 816 To Werter Louvain, 19 Oct. 1518 F.; iv. 3; C. 353 (340)
 817 To Gerbel Louvain, 20 Oct. 1518 F.; iv. 4; C. 354 (341)
 818 To Pace Louvain, 22 Oct. 1518 F.; x. 26; C. 354 (342)
 819 To Athyroglothus Antwerp, 7 Dec. 1518 E. a. d. 513; xiii. 26; C. 358 (346)
 820 To Bombasius Louvain, 13 Dec. 1518 F.; xi. 5; C. 358 (347)
 821 To Ecolampadius Louvain [Dec.] 1518 F.; vii. 43; C. 367 (354)
 822 To Cardinal de Croy Louvain, 1518 F.; xi. 6; C. 359 (349)
 823 To Glarean Louvain, 1518 E. a. d.; xv. 8; C. 377 (361)

EPISTLES OF ERASMUS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Residence at Louvain, August, 1517. Death of Ammonius. Letters to Beatus Rhenanus, the Bishop of Basel, Count Nuenar, Tunstall and others. Letters of More, Sixtinus and Chiregattus. Epistles 597 to 618.



OUR second volume included in its last chapter an account of the removal of the residence of Erasmus from Antwerp to Louvain, which was begun in July, and completed about the middle of August, 1517. The two following letters, which were carried from England by John Palgrave on his return to the Continent,* brought to Erasmus the sad news of the death of Ammonius, who only four months before had done him so signal a service, and contain an account of the disease which had carried his friend off, called the Sweat or Sweating Sickness, then prevailing in London, and also at both the English University towns. It appears from the opening words of Epistle 597, that this letter with Epistle 598, and also More's previous letter, Epistle 579, and those of other English correspondents, which had been entrusted to More for transmission, some of them written several weeks before,—Epistles 568, 569, 570, and 586,—were all sent by More to Erasmus together, by the hands of Palgrave, on or about the 19th of August.

EPISTLE 597. Farrago, p. 177 ; Ep. vii. 4 ; C. 570 (522).

More to Erasmus.

The departure of our friend Palgrave having been put off from day to day has led to your receiving both my letter

* See vol. ii. p. 587, and note there.

and those of others much later than I intended and than you ought to have received them. It seemed suitable, that the same bearer that brought me your letter should carry back my answer. It has therefore become necessary to add this to my former communication, so that you may know the cause of the delay, and at the same time be informed what is taking place among us. We are in greater distress and danger than ever ; deaths are frequent all around us, almost everybody at Oxford, at Cambridge, and here in London, having been laid up within the last few days, and very many of our best and most honoured friends being lost. Among these,—I am distressed to think how it will distress you,—has been our friend Andrew Ammonius, in whom both good letters and all good men have suffered a grievous loss. He thought himself protected against contagion by his temperate habit of life, and attributed it to this, that, whereas he scarcely met with any person, whose whole family had not been sick, the malady had not attacked any one of his. This boast he made to me and others not many hours before his death. For in this Sweating Sickness, as they call it, no one dies but on the first day. I, with my wife and children, am as yet untouched ; the rest of my family have recovered. I can assure you, that there is less danger upon a field of battle, than in this town. It is now, I hear, beginning to rage at Calais, when we are being forced thither ourselves, to undertake a diplomatic mission,—as if it were not enough to have been living in contagion here without following it elsewhere. But what is one to do ? What our lot brings us must be borne ; and I have composed my mind for every event. Farewell.

London, in haste, the 19th day of August [1517].*

* Raptim Londino XIX. die Augusti. *Farrago*.

The same sad intelligence was conveyed by the letter of another correspondent, which we may assume to have been entrusted to the same messenger as the last.

EPISTLE 598. Deventer MS. ; C. 1623 (161).

Sixtinus to Erasmus.

Although I know how grievous a message I am sending you, still I think that I ought to write what you will be so much concerned to hear. Our friend Andrew Ammonius has been buried to-day, having been carried off by this Sweating Sickness, in which so many persons of note have perished. May God be gracious to his soul ! On the day he died, we were to have gone into the country together, the horses, which were to have carried us, having been already sent by the Prior of Merton.† But he, as I hope, has been borne on high, and has left me to follow when it shall please God. * * *

As to your business, I have no definite message to send ; he has been snatched from us, before he received any certain intelligence. Two days before his death, I had a most agreeable and cheerful dinner at his house ; as on that very day he employed my assistance in some business of his own, and invited me also for the next day ; but the news of his death,—arriving before any intelligence of his illness,—was brought me, just as I was rising, and before I was dressed. So fragile, tottering and uncertain are human affairs ! Farewell.

London, 19 August, 1517.‡

† a Priore Martono. C. Probably we should read, a Priore Martonensi, the Prior of the monastery of Merton in Surrey. Merton is, or lately was, in its own neighbourhood pronounced Marton.

‡ Londino 19. Augusti, An. 1517. C.

It may be observed, that from this date in the Register of the extant correspondence of Erasmus, his own letters once more form the principal part of the collection. For a period of nearly three years,—from the beginning of September, 1514, to the third week of August, 1517,—the letters of his correspondents, mainly derived from the Deventer Manuscript, are much more numerous than his own. But from the latter date, while the letters that we possess are for some time principally due to the same source, the epistles are mainly those of Erasmus himself. This observation will be made more definite by a glance at our Chronological Register of Epistles; where the reader may admire the multitude of letters, which in the midst of his literary work Erasmus found time to dictate within a period of little more than four months.*

The following Epistle is of some interest as illustrating the relations of Erasmus with his printers and publishers. It also includes, among other matter, a sad account of the government of the Netherlands under the Flemish or Burgundian Court.

EPISTLE 599. Deventer MS.; C. 1624 (164).

Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus.

I am not surprised about Froben, as I know the man's character; but I do wonder at Lachner not attending to your advice, especially as I earnestly sent word to him to do so. But the person by whom they answer, writes, that you are to be consulted, when they bring out the publication. I am not much concerned what authors they print, provided they meet my requirements. And if they do not care about our business, Asolano, Aldus's father-in-law, has written to me to say, that whatever his office can do, is quite at my service.

* Of 300 letters in our Register, Epistle 301 to Epistle 600 (11 Oct. 1514 to 23 Aug. 1517), I count 99 of Erasmus and 201 of his correspondents. Of the 120 letters that follow in the Register,—Epistle 601 to Epistle 720 (23 Aug. to 30 Dec. 1517),—97 are of Erasmus, and 23 of his correspondents.

I wonder how it came into James Lefèvre's head, to write such nonsense against me, in his examination of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. I have made an abundant reply; the little book shall be sent you,* if it is finished in time, as it is now nearing the goal, being in the hands of the Louvain printers.

Dorpius, with whom I was nearly having a tragic quarrel,† is now a very close, and as I think, a very sincere friend; and I am on the best of terms with the Theologians. Nevertheless the Carmelites have still some scheme or other in hand; I think they are jealous of the Preachers, who have gained distinction by means of Reuchlin.‡

The condition of things at Court is such, that the good prefer to stay away,—not to say anything of another class, about whom it is irreverent, or rather, unsafe, to speak. The King's Confessor is one named Briselot, who was formerly a Carmelite monk, and became a Benedictine for the sake of some wretched little abbacy, and was afterwards Suffragan of Cambrai. He is a Master§ of Paris; of a most arrogant and virulent character, and utterly hostile to me; there is no convivial meeting at which he does not declaim

* libellus ad te mittetur. The *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, in the form of a letter bearing date 5 August, 1517 (Epistle 591), may be found in *Erasmi Opera*, tom. ix. pp. 18-66. The original edition was printed by Thierry Martens of Louvain, 1517. It appears to have been ready for publication before the end of August. See Epistle 611, p. 23.

† See vol. ii. 405, 411, 458.

‡ invident Prædicatoribus per Reuchlinum nobilitatis. The Dominicans or Friars Preachers had had a controversy with Reuchlin about their proposed destruction of Hebrew books. See vol. ii. p. 130.

§ Magister noster Parisiensis. It should be understood, that in speaking of University degrees the word *Magister* is equivalent to *Doctor*. In our English Universities the qualified *teacher* of the learning generally taught in schools is called Master of Arts, and the Master of Theology is called Doctor of Divinity. See vol. ii. p. 574, where Briselot is similarly described in a letter to More; and see Tunstall's letter, Epistle 634, p. 62 of this volume.

against Erasmus. Even the winds are against us, or they would carry this monster out of our reach; for the Prince still sticks to land, and I see no sign that he is ever going. This new Confessor was taken in preference to Josse Clithof, who had been sent for with a view to that office, though he did not know, himself, why he was summoned; but the courtiers did not like him, because he had very few hairs on his head and was so extremely lean! He had a hundred Philips given him, to go back to Paris.

There is a rabble in this country which is called the Black Band; they have taken and sacked Alkmaar, a town of Holland, once prosperous enough; the greatest cruelty was practised upon women and boys on account of the stout defence which the town had made, and if they had had only six hundred soldiers in garrison, they would have been safe; and these very townsmen had only lately fought for us against the Frieslanders! While these occurrences were feared, and agents were sent to ask for assistance from the Prince, these were not admitted; neither could they obtain permission to defend themselves with their own arms and at their own cost; indeed they were forbidden under a capital penalty to invade Guelderland, though they had been despoiled by the Guelderlanders. After this dreadful massacre, the chief cities, fearing a similar misfortune for themselves, have petitioned the King, and with difficulty obtained leave to defend themselves at their own cost, but with this condition, that they should provide the King with a fresh sum for his journey, the sum already paid, which was three years' payment in advance, having been exhausted. And because the Hollanders were unwilling to consent to this, the storm was purposely brought upon them. The trick is understood by every one, but it is not easy to remedy, nor safe to speak of it! * * *

We have received three hundred florins,—not from the Prince's exchequer, whence no present is ever forthcoming,

but out of the booty.* Nevertheless the Chancellor makes splendid promises ; he has already gone to Spain ; and there is some hope for me, since Barbier his chaplain, who is much attached to us, is with him, and Busleiden too. The Cardinal of Toledo invites me, but I have no fancy to turn Spaniard. The bishop of Chieti,† in expectation of fortune, has exhausted his own resources and those of all his friends. He has been denounced by notes written in cipher to the King; this he does not yet know himself, and it would not be safe for me to tell him, for fear of risk to my informants.

I do beg you to get those people to make haste with the printing of what I have sent, and especially to take pains with More's matters.‡

Chièvres, by whose bidding everything is now done here, has made his nephew an Abbot, Bishop of Cambrai, Cardinal, and, as I hear, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Toledo ; he is living at Louvain, a youth of about twenty years, of a lively character.§

That *Black Band* is besieged, they say, in some morass, and will be kept besieged, I suppose, until the sum required by the Prince is paid.

Farewell, dearest Beatus. If you please, you can communicate our news to other friends, as it is difficult to write a separate letter to every one.

I have heard nothing yet from Glarean ; but I understand by a letter from Budé, that he is in Paris.

Louvain, 23 August, 1517.||

* ex præda.

† John Peter Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV. See vol ii. p. 116.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 559 ; and see further, pp. 16, 18, 21.

§ The young Cardinal de Croy died in 1521, in his twenty-third year. Erasmus, in sending news of his death to Budé, says of him, that his character was wonderfully friendly and sincere,—he had a genuine love of learning, and did not dislike Erasmus. C. 634 c.

|| Lovanio 23. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

It appears from the last lines above, that Glarean's letter, Epistle 592, dated eighteen days earlier (see vol. ii. p. 602), had not yet reached Erasmus, having probably waited some days in the writer's hands before a convenient messenger was found.

A short letter of Erasmus addressed to William Nesen, who had been acting for some time as corrector of Froben's press (see vol. ii. pp. 197, 371), accompanied the last Epistle to Basel. Erasmus had dedicated an edition of the *Copia* to Nesen, the printing of which he specially commended to his care. Epistle 451, vol. ii. pp. 372, 383. It is characteristic of Erasmus, that, in this letter, the minor agents of Froben's press are not forgotten, and that, in the midst of all his literary labours and learned correspondence, he was pleased to receive letters from them. Conrad or Chunrad, an assistant in that press, is mentioned in a letter of Bruno Amerbach, vol. ii. p. 384, as being disappointed, upon his not receiving a message from Erasmus.

EPISTLE 600. Deventer MS.; C. 1623 (163).

Erasmus to William Nesen.

You have made a pretty book of your *Copia*.

You have no reason to be angry with Budé; he has chosen to jest with a friend,—that is all.* He is a learned man, he belongs to our side, and the answer we have given is sufficient.

Stir up Froben to grace our other works in the same way, and to lose no time about it. You will learn the rest of our news from Beatus, or indeed from our letter to him. Farewell, and love us.

Greet our Lewis, whom I congratulate on his advancement. I suppose Master Conrad is still angry with me, as he does not write. Greet him in my name.

Louvain, 23 August, 1517.†

* Budé had classed the *Copia* among the *λεπτολογήματα* of Erasmus, vol. ii. pp. 301, 416.

† Lovanio 23. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

By the same messenger, Erasmus sent a short epistle to Lewis Baer, the Dean of the University of Basel, in answer, apparently, to a communication received from him, in which he had expressed his regret that his correspondent was not disposed to return to that place. This epistle of Erasmus has the following address, apparently dictated by the writer : Erasmus Theologo summo Ludovico Bero patrono suo.

EPISTLE 601. Deventer MS.; C. 1623 (162).

Erasmus to Lewis Baer.

I am heartily glad to hear that my especial patron, Baer, is in good health. I had no disinclination for Basel, which is commended to me by its agreeable climate, as well as by your kindness. But Prince Charles has been lingering for nearly two months on the shore, the winds being adverse, not so much to him as to us all ; while Le Sauvage, the Chancellor of Burgundy, who is himself going off to Spain, has out of his own funds paid the pension due to me from the Prince's empty Treasury, and has at the same time loaded me with promises. I wanted to try, for a short season, what turn the matter would take, though the times are such, that, however much I might have wished it, it has not been safe to undertake a journey to your parts. Meanwhile we are staying at Louvain, being received with the utmost kindness by all the theologians. I am the more disposed to do this, as I hear that *some* Carmelites are still busy with *some* scheme, but only a few of them.

I am sorry about Lefèvre, who by an odious disputation has driven me to reply to him. You will see what the matter is by my tract.* May I die, if I should not have

* Rem ex libello cognosces. The *Apologia ad Fabrum* has the dimensions of a book, occupying fifty columns in the folio edition of the *Opera Erasmi*. See p. 5.

preferred to fill a huge volume in praising rather than in refuting him !

Dorpius is sincerely my friend. Farewell, best of teachers.

Louvain, 23 August, 1517.*

By the messenger that carried his literary wares to Froben in the previous June, Erasmus had taken the opportunity of presenting his respects to the Bishop of Basel, who had sent him in return an affectionate letter dated the 13th of July, 1517, which was accompanied by a friendly note from the bishop's secretary, Lucas Paliurus, —Epistles 574, 575. See vol. ii. pp. 580, 581. To both of these communications Erasmus replied on 'the eve of St. Bartholomew,'—the 23rd of August,—the same day on which the three preceding letters are dated.

EPISTLE 602. Auctarium, p. 187 ; Epist. iii. 29 ; C. 285 (286).

Erasmus to Christopher, Bishop of Basel.

Reverend Prelate, it is beyond my power adequately to express the veneration and affection, wherewith I welcome that old partiality on your part, which I experienced abundantly at Basel, and now recognize once more in your letter. I have for some time been looking round to see, whether I could find any subject, upon which, if my literary powers are of any avail, I may testify, even to posterity, your beneficence to me and my gratitude to you ; or rather, to express my meaning better, that posterity may be enabled to see in you the likeness of an excellent prelate, and the pattern of a respectful client in me. But hitherto I have been dragged in different directions by so many causes of anxiety, in one by my own studies, in another by the business or rather the trifles of a Court, in a third by the hostility

* Lovanio, 23 Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

of certain theologians, that I have been more capable of remembering my duty than of fulfilling it. I am now quite at peace with the theologians, save for the protests of a very few masqueraders, who bay at a distance, and only in my absence, especially when they grow fluent over their cups.

I have quite withdrawn from Court, and am settled at Louvain, where the climate agrees with me, and I hope to be furnished with convenient means of carrying out my intentions.* I have not however dismissed Basel from my thoughts, but there are reasons, that make it expedient for me to remain here for some months. What they are, I have partly indicated to Lewis Baer. And indeed it is not so much the attractions of your climate which will have tempted us to Basel, as the marked favour that your Lordship has shown us.

For the kindness and courtesy with which you are treating Beatus Rhenanus, who is an uncommonly honest man, I am no less grateful than if the favour were conferred on myself. As to news, you will learn them from the letters of others. Farewell, most reverend Father.

Louvain [23 Aug.] 1517.†

The above epistle to the Bishop, in which the day-date is wanting, —the date of place and year having been probably added in the printed copy,—was accompanied by a few friendly lines to the Bishop's Secretary, Lucas Paliurus, dated on the eve of St. Bartholomew (23 August), 1517,‡ EPISTLE 603. *Auctarium*, p. 183; *Ep.* iii. 24. C. 260 (262).

On the following days, the 24th and 25th of August, Erasmus dictated some letters for Mayence, Strasburg, Augsburg and Basel, which were no doubt intended to be despatched with the Basel letters dated on the preceding day.

* spero dabitur commoditas animo meo satisfaciendi. This may be understood to apply to his intended literary work.

† Lovanio, An. 1517.

‡ Lovanii, pridie Bartholomæi. M.D.XVII.

Epistle 604, dated on St. Bartholomew's day (24 August), 1517, refers to the relations of Erasmus with another distinguished admirer, the Archbishop of Mayence; who, by a message sent through his physician, Henry Stromer, had suggested that Erasmus should devote his scholarship to illustrating the lives of the Saints. See vol. ii. p. 598. This young prelate was a son of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and in the course of this year was created a Cardinal. Erasmus some months later, 22 Dec. 1518, dedicated to him his treatise *de Ratione veræ Theologiæ*.*

EPISTLE 604. Auctarium, p. 188; Ep. iii. 30; C. 260 (263).

Erasmus to Henry Stromer.

Most learned doctor, I have received your letter by my seryant, James. It is very welcome on many accounts, but chiefly because it bears witness to the favorable opinion with which I am honoured by the Reverend Prelate, and at the same time, to the singular interest which you have taken on my behalf. I had thought of inscribing to the Archbishop my Suetonius with other authors of Lives of the Cæsars, of which I have revised the latest edition with no little care; but there was a reason that made me shrink from doing so. I have not yet myself received any attention from him. But when I hear that his Highness is so favorably disposed to men of promising talent, I think it is the part of all the learned to sound the praises of such a personage; and that I should be all the more ready to undertake this duty, inasmuch as so great a Prince bestows his favour upon pious and religious objects. If all were animated with the same spirit, there would surely be a great improvement in the world.

As to his encouraging me to write the Lives of the Saints, I only wish, that, as he promises a reward, he could also

* Lovanii, xi. Calend. Ianuarii, Anno M.D.XVIII. Epist. xxix. 29; C. v. 74.

supply this puny body of mine with the strength required for such a task. I have already passed my fiftieth year; my health is feeble; and I am distracted with the labours attendant on various studies.

If I should chance to travel your way, I shall be eager to enjoy your society, and the sight of your excellent Prince. Farewell, most learned Stromer.

Louvain, St. Bartholomew's day (Aug. 24) 1517.*

Epistle 605, addressed to John Ruser, the corrector of Schürer's Press at Strasburg, may be regarded as a postscript to Epistle 595, written to the same person twelve days before; see volume ii. p. 608. The new epistle was probably added in answer to a fresh note or message received in the meantime from Strasburg; to which place it was, no doubt, sent by the same messenger, that was carrying Erasmus's letters to Basel.

EPISTLE 605. Deventer MS.; C. 1625 (167).

Erasmus to John Ruser.

I did write, that if there was anything by which I could gratify Schürer, I would do it with the greatest avidity; so far am I from having blotted him out of the list of my friends; I know too well the man's honest character. I have by me a copy of Quintus Curtius, which I have lately read through in order to get rid of the rust that has gathered on my pen; some short notes have been supplied, a few passages have been corrected, and a Preface is to be added; this I would let him have, if I knew that he would like it.†

* Louanii, Natali Bartholomæi, Anno 1517.

† This material was afterwards sent by Erasmus to Schürer, with a letter dated 31 October, 1517; see Epistle 665. And an edition of Quintus Curtius was issued by this printer in June, 1518.

If he will send me Rodolf's Works,* I will do him a friendly turn, though otherwise so much occupied; or, if anything else occurs to me, I will let him know. Please tell him so in my name, and bid him consider this letter as written to him as well as you.

You will give my greeting to the whole company,—to Sturm, Wimpfling, and the most distinguished Rodulfang, to Rebeler, and especially to Doctor Gerbel, to whom please make my excuses for not answering his letter just now, distracted as I am with the writing of hundreds of letters, beside all the task of my studies. Farewell, most learned Ruser.

Louvain, 24 August, 1517.†

With his other letters for Basel, Erasmus sends a short note to Bruno Amerbach, who appears to have been just starting for a visit to Italy. His brothers, Basil and Boniface, are still at Basel. The Commentary of Zasius upon Lex II, *De origine Juris*, is mentioned in a letter to Erasmus from the author, dated 30 Oct. 1515, at which time he was busy upon it. See vol. ii. p. 226.

EPISTLE 606. Deventer MS.; C. 1625 (165).

Erasmus to Bruno Amerbach.

You are indeed fortunate in visiting Italy in this most fortunate age. If you have any fear of the climate, Padua is the most healthy locality, Bologna not so much so, nor Florence, nor Rome.

Do advise Froben to print Zasius's book, *De origine Juris*; he is worthy of that honour. Be sure and give my salutation to Basil and Boniface. I congratulate Fontanus on

* Si mittet opera Rodolphi. C. It appears to have been proposed to publish a collection of the works of Rodolphus Agricola, to which Erasmus might contribute a preface or short commentary. See vol. ii. p. 609.

† Lovanio, 24 Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

succeeding to power;* he must exert himself not to fall short of his predecessor. The Jerome is unanimously welcomed; that is your luck out there, for my Genius has no holiday anywhere.†

Farewell, dearest Bruno. In whatever part of the world you may be, let me know where you are.

Louvain, 24 August, 1517.‡

The following letter, which is without date of day or month, was no doubt sent to Basel with the parcel of Epistles we are now describing. The first part of Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar had been already translated by Erasmus and published; § the second part, which was now sent to press, was first published in March, 1518. The letter is addressed in the printed copy, *Erasmus Lachnero et Frobenio*, but the address to Lachner only has been left, as Froben is mentioned in it in the third person, and the correspondent is addressed in the second person singular, while in Epistle 608, probably sent by the same messenger, Erasmus sends a greeting to Froben with the message, that he has written to Lachner. The second address was probably added, in order that the letter might be opened and read by Froben in case of the absence of his father-in-law; see the words at the end of Epistle 608. The book-fair in prospect, at which Erasmus wished some books to be bought for him, was probably the September Fair at Frankfurt, where Lachner's agent would naturally be present. See vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.

* Fontano gratulor, tyrannidem, ut audio, nacto. It may be conjectured that Fontanus had a position of authority in Froben's printing-office. I do not know that he is mentioned elsewhere, unless he may be Christopher Fontanus a theologian, who was a correspondent of Erasmus in 1533. C. 1488B.

† Tuum istuc fatum est, nam meus genius nusquam cessat.

‡ Lovanio, 24 Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

§ See vol. ii. pp. 291, 547. In a later letter addressed to Froben, 12 March, 1518, C. 1674,5 (271), Erasmus tells him that the second book of Theodore Gaza's Grammar had then been printed by Thierry Martens, he (Erasmus) having thought that it had not been sent to Froben, as it was not mentioned in any of his letters. It appears to have been printed by Froben at a later time in the same year.

EPISTLE 607. Deventer MS. ; C. 1655 (236).

Erasmus to Wolfgang Lachner.

I send the first book of Theodore corrected, and the second translated. If you have many copies left of the first edition, insert a page in which you may note the *errata* ; and then add the second book. I also send whatever additional Proverbs have come in by this time. I have not yet had any talk with Francis, since I have received your letter ; and in your letter you give no estimate of the copies.

At this place there is nothing coming in, and the expenses are very heavy. I do not wish to be burdensome ; but, as they say, one hand must rub the other.* Froben, when he sees a work in manuscript, does not take count enough of the labour it implies, as one who only reckons how many pages there are of copy. I trust throughout to your consideration, which I have experienced before. I have already written word, that the *Rhetoric* of Hermogenes, which you sent me from Frankfurt, has been delivered to me.†

I have seen the works of Gregory Nazianzen in Greek, printed I think by Aldus,—not those poems, but prose compositions,—in the form of a handy book.‡ Please get me a copy at this Fair ; also Strabo in Greek ; § also Aristides in Greek ; also Plutarch's Lives in Greek ; also the whole of

* manus manum fricet oportet. Erasmi *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. i. Prov. 33.

† The Τέχνη 'Ρητορικὴ of Hermogenes, a Rhetorician who flourished under the emperor Marcus Aurelius, appears to have been printed by Aldus in the first volume of a collection of *Rhetores*, in folio, 1509. The separate copy sent to Erasmus from Frankfurt was probably a manuscript ; the last book-fair there had been in April.

‡ in forma Enchiridii. Some orations of Gregory Nazianzen, edited by Marcus Musurus, were printed by Aldus in 1516, in a small 8vo volume.

§ The *editio princeps* of Strabo, printed by Aldus in 1516, appears according to Gustaf Kramer (his editor in 1844) to have been very faulty.

the Bible in Greek, as it has been printed by Aldus, or his father in law, Asolano;* also the little book of Wolfgang Faber on the Annotations of the Hebrews.† Take an account of the price of the books bought, and of the value of the copy sent by us; and what is to be repaid to you, if you want anything repaid, shall be given to Francis. For, according to the old maxim, good people ought to deal well with each other.‡ Farewell.

Louvain, [24 August] 1517.§

Another short letter of Erasmus, entrusted no doubt to the same courier, is addressed to Guolfangus Augustanus (Wolfgang of Augsburg), who appears to have been employed by Froben in the management of the Basel printing-office. With regard to the work to which Erasmus here gives the name *Commentarii*, it may be observed that the full title of the Copia, of which a fresh edition was appearing from time to time, was *De duplici Copia verborum ac rerum Commentarii*. It will be seen, that in the midst of his other labours he proposes to find time to edit an enlarged volume of Epistles. The *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* had been published at Louvain in the preceding April; and the *Auctarium selectarum aliquot Epistolarum* was published by Froben in August, 1518.

EPISTLE 608. Deventer MS.; C. 1625 (166).

Erasmus to Wolfgang of Augsburg.

Do take pains, most excellent Wolfgang, that the *Commentaries* which I have sent, be carefully printed. I have

* The *Ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of Aelius Aristides, a sophist of the second century after Christ, were printed at Florence, 1517. Plutarch's *Lives* in Greek were published in folio at Florence in 1517. The Bible in Greek, printed in folio by Aldus and 'Andrew his father in law' at Venice, has the year-date 1518.

† de annotationibus Hebræorum.

‡ Nam iuxta prisam formulam, Inter bonos bene agier oportet. Agier was a *prisca locutio* for agi. I do not find this saying in the *Adages*.

§ Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

not sent the Epistles for the Press. There is another book of Epistles already printed; we will correct both books, add other letters, and then send them.

I want the *Utopia* and More's *Epigrams* to be commended by a Preface of Beatus Rhenanus. If it seems good, they may be united in the same volume;* and if you think it suitable, add our own short preface,† which we inclose in this letter.

Thank my kind Mistress Gossip‡ for the linen she has sent me, and give my kindest salutation to my dearest Gossip§ Froben; I have written what else I had to say, to Wolfgang Lachner, his father-in-law.

Louvain, 24 August, 1517. ||

The ten preceding letters appear to have been dictated by Erasmus on the 23rd and 24th of August, 1517; and the two which follow are dated on the next day. Of these twelve letters ten are addressed to Basel, one (Epistle 609) to Cologne, and another (Epistle 605) to Strasburg, both cities on the route to Basel, and we may presume that they were all despatched by the same messenger.

The person addressed in the following letter (see vol. ii. p. 591), Count Hermann of Neuenaar, appears to have been in orders, and to have generally resided at Cologne. It may be conjectured that he was a cadet of the knightly family, whose original seat was at Neuenaar (or Nuenar, as the name was written), situate a little higher up the Rhine valley, near the confluence of that river with the Aar. We have seen, vol. ii. pp. 447, 448, that it was no secret between Erasmus and More, that Erasmus was the author of the bitter satire upon the deceased Pope, which was entitled *Julius cœlis exclusus*.

* See vol. ii. p. 559. Beatus Rhenanus, who probably superintended the printing of the Basel edition of the *Utopia*, does not appear to have thought that any preface of his own was required. See p. 19.

† Epistle 610. This has been placed later, because it is dated a day later.

‡ Optimæ commatri. We may presume, John Froben's wife.

§ Compatrem carissimum. See Epistle 610, and the comment preceding it.

|| Lovanio 24 Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

He did not however think it safe, that his connection with this work should be generally known, and in the following letter the authorship is disclaimed in a somewhat indirect fashion. In a letter already translated (Epistle 596, vol. ii. p. 610), the same subject is treated in a like way. The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, apparently the work of Ulrich von Hutten, has been already mentioned. See vol. ii. pp. 154, 426, 595, 610.

EPISTLE 609. Deventer MS. ; C. 1626 (168).

*Erasmus to Count Hermann of Nuenar.**

It is well known to all the Basel society, that I always disapproved of the book, which has for title, *The Epistles of Obscure Men*. It is not that I have any aversion to a lively jest, but that I dislike the precedent of injury to the good name of another,—a wrong which any one may so easily commit. We did ourselves, long ago, make sport in the *Moria*, but no one was attacked by name. These writers, whoever they may be, not contented with the trifles already produced, have added a similar sheet, in which,—for some reason which I cannot guess,—they have thought fit to bring in my name over and over again. If they wish me well, why expose me to so much prejudice? If ill, why put me in a different class from that against which their publication is aimed? If they proceed with this sort of nonsense, the result will be, that even good writers will have to be silent. My James, on his late return from Cologne, has brought me back a sort of pamphlet, which he found in circulation in your neighbourhood, in which the late Pope Julius is introduced in a ludicrous fashion. I am not sure, whether it is the same work, of which I heard tell some time ago, as having been composed at Paris by some Spanish writer, and afterwards translated into French, and acted at one of those

* Erasmus Clarissimo Comiti D. Hermanno Neaetio suo. C.

Palace festivals, at which it is customary for the students to make sport with farces of this kind. James added however,—though I can scarcely suppose it to be the fact,—that there were some people who suspected, that the thing was an invention of mine, because,—so he said,—the Latinity was fairly good.

Now I really have not leisure enough, to spend an hour upon any such nonsense ; neither is my mind so irreverent as to wish to throw ridicule upon a Pope, or so silly as to write against persons, who have it in their power to proscribe the writer. For these reasons I entreat of you, my dearest Count, (although the matter does not properly concern me at all) that, having regard to the prejudice incurred by all learned men, if what I hear of this publication is true, you will endeavour to get it suppressed, or rather to do away altogether with it or any thing else like it. I took some pains, myself, two years ago, to suppress in Germany a writing called *Reuchlin's Triumph*, which was then ready for publication, and another entitled *Monachus*, having a friendly regard for Reuchlin on account of his erudition, while I was not at war with Hochstraten or others of his faction, their quarrel being no business of mine ; and though I do not approve,—as no truly pious person can,—that virulent invective, which proceeds from the spirit of this world, and not of Christ, it is certain that wherever I have been, I have found the best men in favour of Reuchlin.

Farewell, Mæcenas of all good studies, and love me, as you are wont to do. Give my best greeting to Vinantius, if he is with you.

Louvain, 25 August, 1517.*

The above epistle, printed by Le Clerc from the Deventer Manuscript, was not, as far as I know, published by the Press in the

* Lovanio 25. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

lifetime of Erasmus ; but it may not improbably have been circulated in manuscript, where the writer thought it worth while to disclaim the authorship of the *Julius Exclusus*.

The following letter to Froben, which was sent to Basel with Epistle 608 to be printed as a Preface to the edition of the *Utopia* then in the press (see p. 18), is addressed by Erasmus, compatri suo carissimo, 'to his dearest gossip,' Erasmus being godfather to Froben's son, who had received from him the name of Erasmus, a name which he thought preferable to his own.* See vol. i. pp. 38, 39; ii. p. 504. This letter was accompanied by corrected copies of More's *Utopia* and *Epigrammata*. The former work had been first printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain in November, 1516, and appears to have been already reprinted by Gil Gourmont at Paris before the appearance in March, 1518 (see vol. ii. pp. 432, 513), of the Basel edition, which included the *Epigrammata*, and was prefaced by the following letter of Erasmus to Froben, and a longer letter from Budé to Lupset, dated the 31st of July, 1517. This edition, when printed, bore date, *Basileæ, mense Martio*, 1518, and the work was reprinted at the same press with the date, *mense Decembri*, 1518.

EPISTLE 610. *Utopia*, Basileæ, 1518, Præf. ; C. 1626 (169).

Erasmus to John Froben.†

Whatever my More has hitherto written has always been supremely delightful to me ; though I have somewhat distrusted my own judgment on account of the close friendship between us. But now that I find all the learned subscribing to my opinion, and even surpassing me in their respect for his divine genius,—not certainly because of a greater affection on their part, but of a clearer discernment,—I applaud at this late hour my own sentence, and shall not henceforth be afraid to proclaim what I think. What indeed might

* By Erasmus's will two rings are bequeathed Ioanni Erasmio Frobenio. Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 486.

† Erasmus Roterodamus Ioanni Frobenio, compatri suo carissimo.

not have been expected from that admirable felicity of nature, if this genius had had Italian instruction, if it had been entirely consecrated to the Muses, and had been allowed to ripen at its proper season? When he was very young, he amused himself with Epigrams, most of them being written when he was still a boy. He has never left England except once or twice, when he has had a mission for his Prince in Flanders. Beside his wife and family, beside the duties of an office that he holds, and a flood of legal business, he is distracted by such a quantity of important public affairs, that you may well wonder, that he finds time even to think of books.

Hence it comes, that we have sent you his early exercises, as well as his *Utopia*, that, if you think fit, they may,—printed with your types,—be commended to the world and to posterity; since such is the authority of your Press, that the learned are ready to accept any book with pleasure, if it be known to have come from the house of Froben.

Farewell, with your excellent father in law, your charming wife, and children sweet as honey. Erasmus,* the little son that belongs to both of us, born in the midst of letters, must by your care be instructed in the soundest learning.

Louvain, 25 August, 1517.†

Master Nicolas,‡ mentioned twice in the following epistle, was probably Dr. Nicolas Barbier, brother to Peter Barbier, the secretary of King Charles's minister, Le Sauvage. See vol. ii. p. 597.

* *Erasmus filiolum mihi tecum communem.* We should probably read, *Erasmus*; see the observation in the last page. In a letter, written four years later, we find: *Saluta Erasmiolum, puerum, ut audio, spei optimæ.* C. 660A. So C. 733E.

† *Lovanii, viii. Cal. Septemb. An. M.D.XVII.*

‡ Upon the title of Master,—applied in the following letter both to Nicolas Barbier and to Afinius,—see a note in p. 5.

EPISTLE 611. Deventer MS. ; C. 1610 (144).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I am grieved indeed at the death of Ammonius. But how I wish More were here safe !

I am sending the things that I want carried to Basel ; you will take pains to commend them to the charge of Francis bookseller, or through him to some other safe person.

You will let Master Nicolas know, that I do not find fault with what he says about the Pomegranate, supposing Proserpine and Hecate to be the same ; and Athenæus testifies, in his seventh book, that certain fishes were sacred to her,—for by some chance I found the passage,—that these little fishes are of least price ; and Trigla is so called from *Ternio* (a triplet), which number is sacred to Hecate.*

I am still staying with Paludanus, and the theologians have some design of co-opting me into their order. Atensis is quite devoted to me ; and Dorpius too, but he is more unstable than any woman.

I shall be very glad to see the saddles. I send two copies of the *Apologia*,† please give one to Master Nicolas.

Send me, by the Frieslander, the latter volume of the *Epistles of Obscure Men*, but tied up in a parcel, so that he may not know what he is bringing.

Pray give my compliments to the most erudite and courteous physician, Master Henry of Lière ;‡ he informs

* I have found and read the passage in Athenæus, to which reference is made above, in a fine Aldine volume in the British Museum, which might have been in the hands of Erasmus himself ; but I think the reader may well be spared any further dissertation about the *Τρίγλη*.

† The *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* had now been printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain. Epistle 591, vol. ii. p. 601.

‡ M. Henrico Lyrensi. The proposed present from Doctor Henry Afinius of Lière became, some weeks later, the subject of further correspondence. See Epistles 678, 679, 723.

me by his most courteous letter, that the cups are now ready, and I have no doubt they are. I cannot refuse a gift spontaneously offered by a friend, and shall have to consider what return ought to be made. Accordingly you can send them hither by Thierry Martens.

Farewell again.

Louvain, the eve of St. John (28 August), 1517.*

The above date,—*Pridie Ioannis*,—is attributed in Le Clerc's edition to the Midsummer Feast, and translated, 23 Junii. But the letter with its reference to the recent death of Ammonius, evidently belongs to the latter part of August, and I have assumed that the commemoration intended was the Decollation of St. John Baptist, 29 August. The publication, in two parts, of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* (ascribed wholly or in part to Ulrich von Hutten,) has been mentioned in vol. ii. pp. 555, 610.

EPISTLE 612,—*Deventer MS.*, C. 1627 (170),—was addressed on the 28th of August, 1517, by Francesco Chiregatto to Erasmus. The writer was an Italian, who having been making some stay in England, had been driven from that country by the plague which carried off Ammonius. Being on his way to Rome, he had lately visited Antwerp, where he had enquired for news of Erasmus, but had been disappointed to hear, that he had left that city the day before, to return to Louvain. He conveyed from England to his correspondent the salutations of the Venetian Ambassador, and of Sagundino, who had both gone through the same disease, which carried off Ammonius after eight hours of sickness. The letter of Chiregatto is dated in the printed volume, *Ex Antuerpia 28 Augusti, Anno 1517*; but the language used in the letter rather indicates, that it was written after the writer had left that city,—possibly from Brussels or some other halting-place, from which a letter might easily be sent to Louvain. It appears from this epistle, that Erasmus had returned in the middle of August for a few days to Antwerp, to make arrangements for the conveyance of his books and other effects to Louvain, having now resolved to

* *Lovan. Pridie Ioannis. Deventer MS. Lovanio 23. Junii, Anno 1517. C.*

make a further sojourn of some duration in the latter place, where he had already been staying for more than a month. See vol. ii. pp. 572, 586, 612.

The following letter is addressed to George Haloin, by whom a French translation of the *Moria* had been lately published. In a later letter, Epistle 631, Erasmus finds fault with this translation.

EPISTLE 613. Auctarium, p. 185; Epist. iii. 27; C. 261 (264).

Erasmus to George Haloin.

Illustrious George, I have smelt out at last, if I am not mistaken, who that person is at Ghent, that took offence at our *Moria*. It is a mork, a black monk, all belly!

Moria was at first understood by few; until Listrius added some notes. But now that by your means she has begun to talk French, she is understood even by those who do not understand their own Psalter. I should like, myself, to hear my *Moria* chattering in that language; if you have not a copy by you, let me know at any rate where I can send for one.

I have removed to Louvain altogether; that is, library and all. You must know, that my relations with the theologians are most peaceful and even intimate; for some scandal-mongers had spread it about, that I was at war with them. They are resolved to receive me into their Order, and who would not prefer this to being admitted to the fellowship of the gods? Atensis is singularly favourable; Dorpius seems heartily friendly. One or two of the Poor* bark at me, but only when I am away.

I am told that Briselot has been shouting against me at Antwerp at every wine-party, with all his might and with

* Τῶν πτωχῶν. I presume he means Franciscans, the Greek word being used to baffle a prying reader.

very vigorous lungs.* But I cannot be induced to believe this to be true of a man so learned and so respectable!

Farewell and very well. Keep yourself safe and sound for our sake, and for literature.

The bearer is a monk, who seems honest and uncommonly clever; your own kindness as well as regard for me will lead you to give him any assistance he may require.

Louvain, 29 August, 1517.†

Epistle 614, upon which the name of the correspondent is missing, is apparently addressed to a prelate of princely rank from the south of Europe,—probably an Italian,—residing for the time in some northern country.

EPISTLE 614. Deventer MS. ; C. 1627 (171).

Erasmus to * * *

Most Reverend Father, I wrote some time ago to your Highness. If I do not deserve it, still let me be informed, how you are in health, as to which I am not without anxiety on account of that trying climate, not ill-matched with the character of the people that live in it. We are now at Louvain, with Theologians all about us, and on good terms with the foremost of them, indeed as it seems with all. I only wish some kind god may some day bring us together in the libraries of Naples! §

Farewell, great ornament of Literature and of Religion.

Louvain, 29 August, 1517.||

* See before, pp. 5, 6, and vol. ii. p. 574, note.

† Lovanii quarto Calend. Septembris Anno M.D.XVII.

§ Nos aliquando jungat in Museis Neapolitanis. It seems doubtful, whether Erasmus was ever at Naples. See vol. i. 455.

|| Lovanio 29. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

The two following letters, dated the 30th and 31st of August, 1517, are both addressed to Tunstall, who was at this time at Middelburg in Zealand.

EPISTLE 615. Deventer MS. ; C. 1627 (172).

Erasmus to Tunstall.

Most learned Tunstall, I send you in this letter a whole heap of agreeable news, which that excellent fellow, Frowick,* poured out before us after his return from Rome. Asolano has printed both the Old and the New Testament in Greek. He has put before us the works of Nazianzen. A Greek Strabo has been printed, Plutarch's Lives, Pindar with a commentary, and many other books, which do not occur to me at present. Oh, if one could but be young again!

Andrew Ammonius is dead, struck down by that pestilential Sweat; and More is flying over here.†

I am on such good terms with the Theologians, that they want to admit me into their Order, an honour which they scarcely ever confer on any one who has not taken his degree here.

I have answered Lefèvre. I call Heaven to witness, that I never did anything in my life less willingly, but it had to be done; I cannot think what had come into the man's head.

Take care of your health, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, 30 August, 1517.‡

The above Epistle is evidently a hasty and informal note, written to an intimate friend. The following letter, addressed on the next day to the same correspondent, may have been intended for a wider

* *Optimus ille Frowicus*, called in the next epistle *Frater Frowicus*, was apparently an English Friar, who had spent some time at Rome, and had returned apparently by Venice as far as Louvain. See further, p. 29.

† *Morus huc advolat.*

‡ *Lovanio 30. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.*

circulation. It does not however appear to have been printed in the lifetime of either correspondent. Both Epistles are derived from the Deventer Manuscript.

EPISTLE 616. Deventer MS.; C. 1628 (173).

Erasmus to Tunstall.

The news I hear is indeed sad,—that Andrew Ammonius has met his end. No Italian has ever lived in your England, either more accomplished in learning, or more faultless in character. But I am cheered by the news I hear, that More will soon be with us, and if that is the case, I shall think myself recalled to life. May the Saviour Jesus preserve our patron of Canterbury! As long as he is unharmed, I feel myself safe.

I have removed entirely to Louvain. With the Theologians I am on terms, not only of profound peace, but of the strictest friendship; especially with Atensis, the Head and Chancellor of the University, and with Dorpius, who appears to be heartily my friend. They have some scheme among them for electing me into their number,—that is, into the number of the gods,—and are very busy about it. I am staying for the present with Paludanus, my old host, but intend to move into some apartment, where there may be more space for unpacking my books. This I have not hitherto been allowed to do on account of some little difference among my friends, being loth to offend either party, while both are inviting me in their own direction.

I send you the *Apologia*, in which I answer Lefèvre. You will, I know, regret it on account of both of us, but not so much as I do myself. I cannot cease to wonder, what has entered into the man's mind, and I detest the fatality which has driven me to this task. You will run it through, and need not read it. It is a hasty production.

Budé's last letter to me implies that he was not yet sure, whether you had received that prolix epistle.* And as to my business, which he had so expressly undertaken, about the terms offered by the king, his letters are remarkably silent.†

Brother Frowick after his return from Rome, has shown me some Works of Gregory Nazianzen lately printed. He added, that both Testaments are to be produced by the Aldine press; that Strabo had been published in Greek; also Plutarch's Lives, Pindar with Commentaries, and several other works. What a fund of riches, if one could only be young again; but if I cannot enjoy it myself, I still congratulate the age in which I live.

Three soldiers, who were among those that practised such more than Turkish atrocities in the sacking of Aspre,‡ have met their punishment, having been all hanged on one tree. A wretched man, who shook hands with them when on their way to execution, and so showed that he was in league with them, was taken into custody. It would be well, if all that Black Band were burnt to ashes, and so made to answer to their name.

Farewell and keep your health. We ourselves, amid these frequent wine-parties,§ which are no little burden to me, still remain fairly well.

Louvain, 31 August, 1517.||

The following short note appears from its contents to be addressed to a young secretary or attendant of Tunstall, and was probably sent, with the last epistle, to Middelburg in Zealand, where Tunstall then

* Budé's long letter to Tunstall, Epistle 561, was printed with the correspondence of Erasmus in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, and fills nearly eight columns in C. See vol. ii. p. 557. The last Epistle of Budé to Erasmus here mentioned is Epistle 581. See vol. ii. p. 587.

† See vol. ii. pp. 540, 588.

‡ in excidio Asprensi.

§ inter assiduas computationes.

|| Lovanio 31. Augusti, Anno 1517. C.

was. In the London volume of Epistles,—and I presume in the *Auctarium*, which was published in August, 1518,—the address above the letter is *E. Roterod. Ricardo suo S. D.* but in the Index of the London volume the address is entered, *Richardo Cutberti Episcopi London' a sacris*. This description was apparently added in the Index by the editor of the London volume, without regard to the fact that at the date of the letter Cuthbert Tunstall was not yet a bishop. I do not know anything further of Richard, or of the John mentioned in the letter.

EPISTLE 617. *Auctarium*, p. 184; Ep. iii. 26; C. 261 (265).

Erasmus to his friend Richard.

I did not write about my John in order to force him upon Tunstall, but to gratify Tunstall, if he really desired it. I heartily welcome your own favorable and loving disposition towards me. Continue, my dearest Richard, to unite pure literature with purity of conduct; for I see this is the course you have chosen. Farewell.

Louvain, 31 Aug. 1517.*

The following epistle of Erasmus was written in reply to one received from Gerard of Nimeguen, a chaplain of the new Bishop of Utrecht, containing a description of the ceremony of his patron's consecration, or of his enthronement, which had lately taken place,—it may be presumed in the Cathedral of Utrecht. Erasmus in his answer recalls his own reminiscences of the Bishop's father, Philip duke of Burgundy, and of his elder brother, David, Bishop of Utrecht, by whom the writer had been himself ordained priest on St. Mark's day, 25 April, 1492. See before, vol. i. p. 85. He also refers to his own book or pamphlet, entitled *Querela Pacis undique gentium ejectæ profligatæque*, of which he was now preparing a new edition, to be printed by Froben, with a dedication to the Bishop. This edition appears to have been issued *mense decembri*, 1517.

* Lovanij, pridie Calend. Septemb. Anno M.D.XVII.

EPISTLE 618. *Epistolæ ad diversos*, p. 473; *Epist.* xii. 9;
C. 261 (266).

Erasmus to Gerard of Nimeguen.†

You have so picturesquely and clearly described the inauguration of the illustrious prince Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, your Mæcenas and mine too,—unless you are jealous of sharing him with me,—that I should not have seen the ceremony so well, if I had taken part in it myself from first to last. * * *

I have not yet made up my mind, whether I ought to congratulate the new bishop, who, before he accepted this honour, was in the highest rank by his own endowments,‡ and was so far from soliciting it, that he would have refused the appointment, if he had not made this concession to the interests of his country and the wishes of Prince Charles. I certainly congratulate the diocese, to which I myself belong, upon the acquisition of such a Prince and such a Bishop, whose singular wisdom and supreme integrity of character secure the combined fulfilment of both duties. This confidence of mine is founded not only on his own character, which promises everything that is excellent, but also on my recollection of his father, Philip, duke of Burgundy, than whom this country has not had for many centuries a more praiseworthy sovereign, whether you regard his truly royal greatness of soul, an unusual tenderness which he showed for his subjects, his zeal in promoting peace, or the affability of his manners, and, to express his character shortly, his utter aversion from all tyranny. My expectation is confirmed, when I think of that great man, David, the

† *Gerardo Noviomago.*

‡ *Suis ipsius dotibus.*

bishop's brother, a person in all respects like his father, but especially deserving of honour, because, being himself most learned, he earnestly endeavoured to prevent rude and unlearned men from pushing themselves into the ranks of the clergy, as we have hitherto seen to be the case. I trust therefore, that this prince will not only emulate but even surpass his excellent parent and the brother whose successor he is, and supply you with abundant matter for encomium. That you may understand, how I am your rival in this work, I have already dedicated my *Complaint of Peace*,—as the firstfruit of my devotion,—to him. The book is being printed at Basel, and will soon reach you. If I find it is not disliked, perhaps something more important will be attempted.

Farewell, most excellent Gerard; take pains to commend us with due respect to the most illustrious Prelate.

Louvain, Aug. 31, 1517.*

With this epistle, which completes the count of the letters of the month, we may well close our chapter.

* Lovanij, Anno M.D.XVII, pridie Calendas Septembris.

CHAPTER XL.

Continued residence at Louvain, in the first half of September, 1517. Letters to the Bishop of Worcester, Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, James Lefèvre, Tunstall and others; Letters from the Archbishop of Mayence and others. Epistles 619 to 635.

IN the following chapter it is proposed to give an account of the extant correspondence of Erasmus, dated in the earlier part of September, 1517, of which month the letters that we possess are more numerous than those of any month that has at yet passed under our view. During this time, and for some months after, Erasmus continued his residence at Louvain, not leaving that city for any considerable interval until the summer of 1518, when he transferred his quarters to Basel, in order to superintend the printing of the important works, upon which he had been engaged at the former place.

In Epistle 619 Erasmus acknowledges a letter received from his correspondent, Antonius Clava of Antwerp, which does not appear itself to have survived, but which contained, as an inclosure, an epistle of Budé forwarded from Antwerp. This was probably Epistle 581, dated from Paris, 17 July, 1517,—a letter which is preserved in the Deventer manuscript, and has been translated in our last volume: vol. ii. p. 587. The death of Jerome Busleiden, which is mentioned in the following letter to Clava, appears to have taken place at Bordeaux on the 27th of August, 1517,* while he was on his way to Spain,—in anticipation of the movements of King Charles, who did not start on his journey from Flushing until the 8th of September.† It will be seen that a copy of the *Apologia ad Fabrum* was sent to Clava with the following letter. The occasion of the writing of this work has been frequently mentioned in our previous pages. See vol. ii. pp. 586, 601;

* I take this date from the *Algemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

† Brewer, *Abstracts*, vol. ii. No. 3672.

vol. iii. pp. 5, 9. It appears to have been published in the last week of August, 1517. See Epistles 615, 616.

EPISTLE 619. Deventer MS. ; C. 1629 (175).

Erasmus to Antonius Clava.

I have received Budé's letter inclosed in yours,—both very welcome ; but I feel ashamed of thanking you for this one favour, when I am indebted to you on so many accounts. The civility with which I am treated here by the Theologians,—especially by the Chancellor, *Magister Noster Atensis*, and by Dorpius and Vianensis,* can scarcely be described.

Busleiden has died in an attack of pleurisy. It is a sad blow to me ; and yet he almost deserved his fate, not being content to enjoy the good things he had, nor deterred by his brother's example† from going to Spain.

The Hollander,‡ who is the bearer of this, has such an opinion of you, and so depends on your support, that, if there be no other reason for it, you must give him a lift, when the occasion arises ; you know what his business is.

Please convey my salutation to Robert Cæsar ; and to the doctor,—Clava to Clavus.§ I pray that everything may go happily with your son-in-law and most amiable daughter, especially with the lady.

* Vianensis is mentioned again in Epistle 642, as a leading theologian of Louvain.

† Francis Busleiden, Archbishop of Besançon (brother of the lately deceased Jerome, and of Giles, who still survived), had died at Toledo, 13 August, 1502. See vol. i. p. 352.

‡ Batavus.

§ The physician Clavus of Ghent (*medicus maledicus . . . ut te vel conviciis adigat ad curandam salutem*) is mentioned in later letters. See Epistles 650, 747.

I send the *Apologia*, in which I answer Lefèvre, but have only done so by the strictest compulsion. Pray give my salutation to your wife.

Louvain, 7 September, 1517.*

The correspondent addressed in the following epistle is described in a letter of Erasmus to Cornelius Batt, dated 29 April [1518], as Coadjutor of the Dean of St. Donatian at Bruges, C. 238 (244); and by Epistle 638, addressed to Marcus Laurinus himself, Erasmus forwards his salutation to 'Master Dean'; but in Epistle 639, addressed on the same day to More, he gives to Marcus himself the title of Dean.

EPISTLE 620. Deventer MS.; C. 1629 (176).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

I should be thanking you, most obliging Mark, for the special hospitality you have shown me, if it were not an experience so far from new. You will convey my congratulations to your excellent brother, Matthias, lord of Watervlieten, on his happy return from Spain, which has come to pass so soon, that we have him restored to our society before he has gone to that country!

The paternal purse has some special luck of its own; † for beside the fifty crowns which fell from Heaven at Bruges, a hundred florins were presently sent to Louvain from the Court, and then again thirty-six Philips from England; but there is this amiss about it, that the money flows out just as freely as it flows in!

I am not quite settled here yet, but shall be, I think, within four days, comfortably enough,—and that at the

* Lovanio 7. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

† Crumena paterna plane fatalis est. The allusion is not explained. Laurinus may possibly have presented Erasmus with a purse or money-box, which had belonged to the father of the donor.

Lilian College, in the chambers of a most learned and polite person, Master John Naef of Hontiscote.*

It is admitted by the general vote, that I have had the advantage over Lefèvre; but I protest that I hate my victory, and wish that anything else had come into his head, rather than that he should have challenged me to this contest. I have a sincere love for the man; but in this special matter he has been unlike himself, and that in dealing with an opponent who least deserved it. I send you my *Apologia* as a present. If it should suit you to remove hither, you will find a sincere friend in Erasmus.

Do not forget to convey my salutation to the most worthy Dean; also to Friar Peter, and to the cheerful gentlemen of the Choir, as well as my Lewis.† I find the Theologians quite disposed to be my friends,—especially the Chancellor of the University, Magister Noster Atensis, Dorpius, and Vianensis; they have already nearly co-opted me into their College.

Farewell, dear Mark, sincerest of friends, and kindest of patrons.

Louvain, 7 September, 1517.‡

The address of the following epistle is missing in the Deventer volume; but it appears most probable, that it was written to the Bishop of Worcester, the agent of the English Court resident at Rome. See vol. ii. p. 464. To this bishop Erasmus,—having been especially indebted to him for assistance in the matter of his Dispensation,—had already addressed a grateful letter, Epistle 531 (vol. ii. p. 522); but as that was written while the business was still in hand,

* apud . . . M. Ioannem Nævium Hontiscotatum. The locality called Hontiscote, Hondescot, Honscote, or Honschote is described in Zeller's Universal Lexicon, 1735, vol. xiii., as a pretty town in French Flanders, two miles from Winerbergen, belonging to the Prince of Hornes.

† et festivissimos Musicos, necnon Ludovicum meum.

‡ Lovanio 7. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

he may well have thought, that a further expression of thanks was due to the same benefactor after its successful conclusion. We may also infer from the following letter, that during Erasmus's last visit to England it had been proposed in his discussions with Ammonius, that some further application should be made on his behalf to the Papal Court, upon which the same Bishop had been consulted, and had sent his advice by letter to Ammonius. In looking forward (as we see in his letter) to some future opportunity of showing his gratitude to his correspondent, Erasmus had probably in view the dedication to him of some theological work; but no such dedication appears to have taken place. The bishop is said to have died on the 16th of April, 1521. Nicolas, *Synopsis of Peerage*, ii. 891.

EPISTLE 621. Deventer MS.; C. 1630 (177).

Erasmus to the Bishop [cf Worcester].

Most Reverend Father, I remember and shall always remember your singular goodness to me, although I have not yet returned my thanks for it. We have been so distracted, —partly by frequent change of residence, partly by the Chancellor's departure, partly by our Prince's movements, partly by ill health, and lastly by the uncertainty of every thing about us,—that I have scarcely had time to collect my thoughts; but ere long you shall be made aware of the attachment of a spirit not wanting in gratitude. I do not know what further step was taken by Andrew in my business since my departure from England. If anything fresh was begun by him, I beg you to complete it.

My New Testament is again in hand. Some persons had been offended at first by the novelty of it, though it has been everywhere approved by those most approved; but next summer it will come out, so treated by me as to satisfy all; and, if I may use an arrogant phrase, to consecrate the glory of Pope Leo and the name of Medici to eternal fame, —provided only that one more year of life is given me!

When I was last in England, I was greeted by the King with singular favour, and so, after him, by the Cardinal of York. Both invited me upon terms not to be despised.

Farewell, most honorable Prelate, and continue your favour to the humblest of your clients.

Louvain, 7 September, 1517.*

The letter acknowledged in the opening words of Epistle 622 may be assumed to be Epistle 594, in which Barbier had urged Erasmus not to write anything too bitter against Lefèvre. The Mæcenas of the same clause is John Le Sauvage, the Chancellor of Burgundy, with whom Barbier had been travelling to Spain, when he wrote to Erasmus. See vol. ii. p. 607. The following letter was probably sent, with Epistle 621, to some official at Brussels to be forwarded from thence to its further destination

EPISTLE 622. Deventer MS. ; C. 1652 (230).

Erasmus to Peter Barbier.

It has given me the greatest pleasure to learn from your letter, that my Mæcenas and you are safe and well. The lord De la Marce † has faithfully transmitted my money to Louvain by the hands of the Collector Adrian ; ‡ and in this transaction your brother Nicolas has played the part of a true Barbier, and been your second self.

The Theologians have some scheme in hand for co-opting me into their flock, while for my own part I have no such ambition.

* Lovanio 7. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

† Dominus de la Marce. This gentleman, through whom Erasmus received his pension, is called Marcius in Epistle 669 ; and possibly the dominus de Marques of Epistles 587 and 594 (written by the two Barbiers) who performed the same office, may be the same person. See vol. ii. pp. 597, 607.

‡ per Adrianum Quæstorem.

As to Lefèvre, it is impossible for me to express, how grieved I am, and how much I hate the necessity which has driven me to answer him. I would rather have written a huge volume in his praise, than this brief *Apology* in my own defence. You know that there was nothing I did not both do and suffer in order to avoid a conflict with Dorpius,* and I should have wished it still less with Lefèvre. But when you have read all, you will come to the conclusion, that the matter was treated by him in too odious a fashion to leave it open for me to keep silence. I saw, that in this way an occasion was being given to ill-disposed persons, for speaking evil of us both ; I saw that the fruit of our study, on which so many wakeful nights had been expended, was being lost. And yet I have as sincere a regard for Lefèvre as for any person in the world. Oh genius mine, unlucky everywhere ! What god put this thought into his head ?

Nevertheless I defend myself in such a way as to abstain from contumely ; for I reckon it no contumely, if I refute his opinion in plain terms while I cast no reflection on his life. The booklet shall accompany this letter, if any messenger is forthcoming to whom it can be trusted ; and when you have read it, I am sure you will be sorry for us both. The work was already finished before your letter was delivered to me ; but had it been delivered in time, I could not be silent under such imputations, even if urged by the Pope himself. Farewell.

Louvain [September] 1517.†

The following short letter, addressed *Petro Ammonio*, is printed without any date of day or month in Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus's epistles. But I have not found it in Mr. Kan's list of the contents of the Deventer Manuscript, and do not know from what source it was derived. In the will of Andrew Ammonius, the kinsman named as his executor

* See vol. ii. 407, 411.

† Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

is called Peter Vannes ; and we may conclude that the surname here attributed to him by Erasmus, to whom he was not yet known either personally or by correspondence, was not that by which he was usually called. This letter has in Leclerc's edition the date, *Lovanio, Anno 1517*. It was no doubt written in that year, and may have been sent from Antwerp to England with the other letters intended for that country which follow it in our list, the date *Lovanio* being given to show the writer's usual address, to which reference is made in the letter. It is interesting to observe the confidence of Erasmus, that his writings would preserve from oblivion the memory of his friend.

EPISTLE 623. C. 1652 (228).

Erasmus to Peter Ammonius.

Our Ammonius's death is as bitterly felt by me as it can possibly be. What is there worth anything, that has not been lost in him? I cannot recall him to life ; but I certainly shall not let his memory perish, if my writings have any power to prevent it.

I beseech you to tie up in one parcel all his letters to me and mine to him, and get them sent hither by some safe person ; and also, if there are any writings about our affair, in which he communicated on my behalf with the Pope, that they may be either destroyed, or sent hither.

Farewell, dearest Peter, and regard Erasmus as entirely your own.

Louvain, [September], 1517.*

On the 8th of September Erasmus appears to have gone to Antwerp for the day, for the purpose, among other things, of paying the painter, Quentin Matsys, for the portraits of himself and Peter Gillis, and of despatching the picture to More. See vol. ii. pp. 558, 559, 584.

* *Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.*

EPISTLE 624. Deventer MS. ; C. 1630 (179).

Erasmus to More.

I send the portraits, so that we may in some way still be with you, if any chance should take us off. Peter pays half, and I half,—not that we should, either of us, have been unwilling to pay the whole, but that the present may be common to us both.

Peter Gillis is still suffering with his old complaint. For ourselves, we are living at Louvain among the Doctors, and are about as well in health as usual. I am sorry you are tied to Calais. If nothing else is given us, do write frequently,—even a few words.

Farewell, my More, of all mortals dearest to me. Do for our sake take the best care you can of yourself.

Antwerp, 8 September, 1517.

By the same conveyance Erasmus took the opportunity of sending a letter to Bishop Fisher. It appears by Epistles 568 and 625, that Reuchlin had in the preceding June sent one of his works to England as a present for that bishop ; but both More and Colet had detained the book *in transitu* to satisfy their curiosity, before sending it on to its proper destination ; a noteworthy circumstance, as evidence of their confidence in the Bishop's good nature.

EPISTLE 625. Deventer MS. ; C. 1630 (178).

Erasmus to Bishop Fisher.

Most reverend Father, Colet has been grievously complaining of my having sent a book of Reuchlin's to you, and none to him ; he added nevertheless, that he had read the book through, before sending it on to you ! I am sorry it should have been so long delayed ; but with your usual good

nature you will pardon Colet's avidity ; I had given More leave to show it to him, but not to leave it with him.

I am very glad to hear, that you do not regret the trouble you have taken in the study of Greek. I have written more than once to Latimer ; and he has sent me an answer at last, but such an answer as shows, that the man will not go beyond his former letter. Nevertheless I send Theodore's second Book,* lately translated by me, with some corrections from a Greek manuscript. The version is sufficiently explicit, and you must not be put out by some mistakes made by the boy who has copied it.

I also send you the *Apologia*, in which I have answered James Lefèvre. All the theologians, even those that are his partisans, with one voice award the palm to me ; but for myself I hate the necessity which has forced me into this controversy, and the victory I have gained over one for whom I have so much regard. Your wisdom will understand both sentiments, as soon as you read my pamphlet, and you will, I am sure, be sorry for us both ; although, for that matter, I am less to be pitied, as the fault is not mine.

When any safe messenger is at hand to bring them, send us back the pamphlets which relate to Reuchlin's affair,—that is, if you have done with them. I have heard from Cologne, that his cause is going on as well as possible ; † but I opine that that suit is never likely to be concluded.

I hope that you may sometime have a happy occasion for visiting this country. Farewell, and deign at any rate occasionally to greet us with a letter.

Antwerp, 8 September, 1517.‡

* A copy of Erasmus's version of the second book of Gaza's Greek Grammar appears to have been sent in manuscript with this letter. The first book, translated by Erasmus, had been published by Froben in October, 1516, and the two books were printed together in 1518. See vol. ii. p. 291.

† See the letter of Cæsarius, vol. ii. p. 599.

‡ Antuerpia 8. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

The following letter, which bears the same date as the last, was written in answer to Epistle 598, in which Sixtinus, writing on the same day as More, had sent news to Erasmus of the death of Andrew Ammonius. See pp. 2, 3.

EPISTLE 626. Deventer MS. ; C. 1631 (180).

Erasmus to Sixtinus.

Grievous news indeed ! But what boots it to complain ? I beg you by our friendship, to get Peter Ammonius to collect all Andrew's letters to me and mine to him, and either send them here, or hand them to you to be sent ; and in the next place that the letters and draft-letters relating to the Dispensation may be destroyed, so that they may not go astray into the hands of those whom I should not like to have them.

I did not see your brother, as I was away at Louvain.

Peter Gillis is suffering from a sad and slow disease.

The climate here suits me well enough ; and there would be no lack of fortune, if I were willing to take part in the Prince's business ; but I see such factions, that it is not safe for me to support either one or the other. I pursue my studies.

Farewell, dearest Sixtinus, and keep yourself safe and sound for our sake.

Antwerp, 8 September, 1517.*

When Erasmus returned from his short visit to England in the spring of 1517 (see vol. ii. p. 551), he had been able to report to his friends, that he had been courteously received by both the King and Cardinal, and that the former especially had promised him a handsome provision, if he elected to settle in this country. But his

* Antuerpia 8. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

former experience would have been thrown away, had he decided to return upon the strength of promises alone. If he had been actually appointed to some rich and important preferment, and summoned to take possession of his post, he might have been content to fix his fortunes here. But though he had some claim upon Wolsey personally on account of his interference in the matter of the Tournay canonry (see vol. ii. p. 202), the Cardinal appears to have had no inclination to place him in a prominent position in England. The two men were not in sympathy. And King Henry,—in spite of his gracious smiles and friendly expressions,—‘the testimony of his voice,’ by which, as Erasmus pointedly says, he had been often distinguished,—was not so much interested in his favour as to insist on his advancement. Nevertheless, in order not to throw away his chances, Erasmus was resolved to keep himself in view; and accordingly, with his other despatches for England, he sent letters both to King Henry and to the Cardinal, with a book as an offering to each of them. The book sent to the King was a handsomely bound* volume containing, first, a copy of the third printed edition of the Latin translation of Plutarch’s *Treatise on the Distinction between a Flatterer and a Friend*, which he had presented to Henry in manuscript in 1513,† secondly his *Panegyric* addressed to Philip, King of Castile,‡ and thirdly, his *Institution of a Christian Prince*.§

Epistle 627, addressed by Erasmus to King Henry VIII., is not without interest, as bearing upon the King’s character and habits at this period of his life, when Thomas More was a favourite companion. It appears from this letter, that Erasmus, during his visit to England, had been invited to accept some office or preferment in this country. We are not informed what post was offered to him, but in a letter written to Pirckheimer in the following November he speaks of the kind welcome given him on this occasion by the King and by Wolsey, and of a proposal made to him, which would have provided him with

* In the letter to Wolsey the Cardinal’s attention is called to the binding, see p. 49. And in a letter of More to Erasmus written some six or seven weeks later, Epistle 659, the writer alludes to it as a present truly worthy of a king. I am afraid this fine specimen of binding has not been preserved.

† See vol. ii. 77, 80.

‡ See vol. i. p. 361.

§ See vol. ii. p. 249.

a handsome house and a yearly income of six hundred florins, no further information being given, what the proposed appointment was.

EPISTLE 627. Auctarium, p. 191 ; Ep. iii. 32 ; C. 263 (268).

Erasmus to Henry VIII.

Illustrious King, among your numberless truly royal and heroic endowments,—by which you not only recall the merits of your admirable parent, Henry, the Seventh of that name, but even surpass them,—various admirers may choose different subjects for praise. For myself, I regard them all with respect ; but what chiefly commands my approbation is this, that whereas, being gifted with an extraordinary clearness of mind, you have no lack of wisdom yourself, you still delight in familiar converse with men of prudence and learning, and most of all with those who do not know how to flatter. It is as though you had somewhere read that verse of Sophocles,—and indeed I do not doubt you have read it,

Σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσίᾳ,

Kings become wise by wise companionship.

Another chief merit is this, that among so many affairs in which your kingdom, and indeed the whole world, is concerned, you scarcely let a day pass but you bestow some time upon reading, and delight in converse with those ancient sages, who are anything but flatterers ; while you choose especially those books, from which you may rise a better and a wiser man, and more useful to your country. Thus you are far from agreeing with persons who think that princes of the highest rank ought, of all things, to keep clear of serious or philosophic study, and that, if books are taken in hand at all, nothing should be read but amusing

stories, scarcely good enough for women, or mere incitements to folly and vice. The two conceptions of wisdom and of sovereignty are thus assumed to be diametrically opposed to each other; whereas they are so closely connected, that, if you take away one from the other, you leave nothing but the mere title of Sovereign, like the cenotaphs, which display on the outside the names and pedigrees of the dead, the inside being empty.

Moreover, as an intelligent and pious prince is wise, vigilant, and provident for the whole community, being one that is transacting, not his own business, but that of the public, so is it right, that every man should endeavour to the utmost of his power to help him in his cares and anxieties; and the wider his empire, the more need has he of this kind of service. A sovereign is an exceptional being among mortals, an image of the Deity; and yet he is a man. For my own part, since it is only out of my small stock of literature that I can make any payment of this duty to kings,—I did some time ago turn from Greek into Latin Plutarch's little work upon the means of distinguishing a Flatterer from a Friend, and dedicated it to your Majesty by the mediation of the Cardinal, who in the government of your realm fills the same part to you as Theseus did to Hercules, or Achates to Æneas. But being suddenly drawn at that time into the hurricane of war by a sort of fatal storm, which then fell upon all Christendom, you had no leisure,—I may well suppose,—to give any attention to literature, when the business in hand could only be conducted with the sword. I now therefore send again to your Highness the same book, though it has been since communicated to the world and is now printed for the third time; and I send it with interest, having attached to it the Panegyrical Eulogy of Philip, king of Castile,* whose

* See vol. i. pp. 361, 362.

memory I know you keep sacred, as one whom, when you were yourself a boy, you loved as an elder brother, and whom your excellent father had adopted as a son.

To these I have added the Institution of a Prince, an offering which I made not long since to Charles the King Catholic, when he was newly initiated into sovereignty. Not that he stood in need of our admonitions ; but, as in a great storm, the steersman, however skilful he may be, is contented to receive a warning from any quarter, so a Sovereign, destined to rule so many kingdoms, ought not to spurn any advice that is proffered in a serious spirit, while he is resolved to follow that, which of all the plans proposed he may judge to be best! But what estuary will you anywhere find, that has such disturbing currents as the tumults that arise in extensive empires ? Or who ever saw at sea such fearful tempests, as those hurricanes of human affairs, which we have witnessed in these last few years ? And still more dangerous storms appear to be impending, if things are not set in order by the wisdom and piety of Princes. As a last consideration, having been raised to the rank of Councillor, I thought it right to respond at once to my appointment by this act of duty, and not merely to give my opinion in particular cases, but to show to a Prince of no ordinary character, but still a boy, some of the sources, as it were, from which all counsels flow.

That your Majesty stands in need of any such admonitions, is so far from being the case, that one who studies your likeness with due attention might well compose after the model before him the portrait of a perfect sovereign. I have sent the book nevertheless, because I knew that in any case it would not be disagreeable to you to be reminded of two kings, who have been most dear to you. Moreover, these precepts, provided they are sound, will come with an added recommendation to all kings or kings' sons, if they are aware that they have not been disapproved by the most intelligent,

the most unspoiled, and the most successful of all living monarchs. As a last consideration, I shall at any rate escape the blame of ingratitude, if I do not cease to bear witness with all the pains I can to the interest which your Majesty has been pleased to take in me. What indeed do I not owe you, having been so often distinguished by the testimony of your voice, and having been invited,* I may add, when lately with you, to enter your service upon such generous terms,—and that without solicitation, and with a condescension truly royal,—when I think it in itself no small distinction that so insignificant a person is approved, recognized and loved by so great a Sovereign?

May Jesus Christ, Best and Greatest, Prince of Princes, long keep your Majesty in safety and happiness.

Antwerp, the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (9 September), 1517.†

The letter to Wolsey is also of some interest. If the busy statesman found time to glance at this epistle of the author of the *Moria*, it is difficult to believe, that what appears to the reader as the scarcely veiled satire of the opening sentences can have passed without suspicion. It is conceivable, that this letter, which was probably handed about in manuscript at the time, and was printed by Erasmus in the following year, may have rather served to arouse, or to strengthen, the Cardinal's antipathy to its writer.

EPISTLE 628. Auctarium, p. 189 ; Ep. iii. 31 ; C. 262 (267).

Erasmus to Thomas, Cardinal of York.

Most reverend Father, I am not unaware how religiously your Eminence should be approached even by the greatest persons, nor how many have failed by paying their devotions

* This offer is mentioned in Epistle 667, but the office or preferment proposed is not known.

† Antwerpiaë, An. M.D.XVII. postridie natalis diuæ Virginis.

without due ceremony.* But my present confidence is the result of the rare condescension, which I have myself experienced at your hands on other occasions, and especially when I was lately in England. Extraordinary success is generally accompanied by envy; but the striking facility of your manners, patent and obvious as it is to all, so thoroughly excludes envy, that men are as much in love with the goodness of your nature as they are impressed by the greatness of your fortune.

But not to occupy too long with my trifling remarks the attention of one who is so much engaged with serious business,—I send herewith, for the King's Majesty, a small volume in some sort of binding,† embracing most of those subjects which relate to the right administration of sovereignty. Philip, king of Castile, under whose name I represented the ideal of a good sovereign, was loved as a brother by the most serene king, Henry the Eighth, the latter being a boy while the former was not much older; and I had myself a letter from the younger prince, containing a no less loving than elegant lamentation over the death of the elder.‡ With our Charles, beside the tie of affinity,§ your Henry is so united by treaties, by friendship and by brotherly attachment, that no union can be more close. His Majesty, in administering with unparalleled success a supremely prosperous kingdom, has your Eminence at his side in the same relation as Theseus is said to have stood to Hercules, or as Achates to Æneas, so that three names

* *quamque multis male cesserit numina parum rite compellasse.*

† *libellum utcunque adornatum.* See p. 44.

‡ See the letter of Prince Henry, Epistle 203, vol. i. p. 425.

§ Charles V. as son of Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, and sister of Henry's queen, Katherine of Arragon, stood in the relation of nephew to King Henry and his queen. Their daughter Mary, afterwards Queen of England, first cousin to Charles, had been born in February, in the preceding year.

of the greatest importance and dearest to each other seem to be not inappropriately embraced in the same book.*

The volume, which I dedicated to the King some time ago, and presented by your hands, I may well suppose that in the turmoil of war he has not found time to peruse. But now that tranquillity has been long established, I understand that he has come back to Literature, which as a boy he tasted with some success, and that he converses from time to time with books,—not indiscriminately, but chiefly with such as convey lessons of piety and royal wisdom. For the more virtue a person possesses, the greater is his thirst for it. I have therefore determined to renew my old present, considering the offering not to be complete, so long as the person intended to be honoured is not conscious of it.

Your own little book is here too,† as tiny as you are great! I am quite aware how insignificant both my presents are, and indeed to such personages what object would not be insignificant? But I have put on a bold face, and more mindful of your goodness than of your grandeur, have determined to use what means I had to recall myself to your remembrance, and also to signify an intention of attempting something more important at a future time, inasmuch as for the present the New Testament has so entire a possession of me, that I can do nothing else. Upon that work I am resolved to sacrifice my life, or so to treat it, that it may beget both for me and for Pope Leo an immortality of fame. I do not deny that this may seem arrogantly said,—unless I indeed perform what I promise. The coming winter, which I propose to pass at Louvain, will be entirely devoted to

* There seems to be a perhaps not altogether unintentional ambiguity in this sentence as to the inclusion of Wolsey in the trio, which might be taken as including either the deceased King or the living Cardinal.

† Probably a bound copy of the Latin translation of Plutarch's essay, *De Utilitate capienda ab inimicis*, which had been dedicated to Wolsey in January, 1514. See vol. ii. pp. 110, 113.

this labour, now that neither the Prince is here, nor the Chancellor of Burgundy.* Meantime I earnestly request, that your Eminence will continue your favour towards me, and will deign to commend my present, such as it is, to your most Serene King, or if the present does not deserve such an honour, will at any rate apprise him of my intention.

The King Catholic has set sail most prosperously from this country; I hope he will meet with continued success in Spain.

In this part of the world I am afraid a great revolution is impending, unless the favour of Heaven and the piety and wisdom of our rulers provide for the interests of humanity.

Ammonius's death is a bitter blow to me. How many accomplishments have been lost in one man! Jerome Busleiden is gone too, the same person who was once ambassador in England; and this is among the first-fruits that we have presented to the gloomy deity of Spain,† to whom we make too frequent sacrifices.

I take my leave of your Eminence, earnestly commending myself to you as your humblest client.

Antwerp, 9 Sept. 1517.‡

It is of interest to observe, that in his expectation of a great revolution (*magna rerum novitas*) which was impending over Western Europe, Erasmus certainly cannot be said to have been mistaken; but it is not easy to say how far the revolution in affairs of state and of religion, which actually took place, was in accordance with his gloomy forebodings. With respect to the transactions which were occurring under his eyes, we may note, that King Charles appears to have commenced his journey from Flushing on the day before the

* In these words I understand the writer to allude to his own political duties as a Councillor of Prince Charles, which in the absence of the Court would no longer interfere with his theological labours.

† *Orco Hispanico dedimus.*

‡ *Antuerpiæ V. Idus Septemb. Anno M.D.XVII.*

date of this letter. Brewer, *Abstracts*, 3666, 3667, 3672. It is probable that this important and long-expected event had been in some way telegraphed by signal to Antwerp. Tunstall reports in a despatch to Wolsey, dated on the 8th of September from Middelburg, which is within an easy walk from Flushing, that the King of Castile had embarked that day. Brewer, ii. 3672.

The correspondent to whom the following letter is addressed, being a Canon of the Collegiate Church of St. Donatian at Bruges, and nephew of one of the magnates of that city, appears to have suggested an arrangement by which Erasmus might be handsomely lodged and boarded in the palace of the writer's uncle. Erasmus had made a short visit to that city, but had now returned to his quarters at Louvain. This familiar letter was chosen by Erasmus or his editor for publication in the collection of Epistles, published by Froben in 1521, and entitled *Epistolæ ad diversos*.

EPISTLE 629. Epist. ad diversos, p. 505 ; Epist. xiii. 8 ;
C. 264 (269).

Erasmus to John Fevin.

The extraordinary kindness of many friends,—and especially of your uncle Charles and yourself, of which I have had a taste during the last few days,—has made me less fond of Louvain, and more disposed to make my residence at Bruges, provided only a convenient nest be found for me there, and a table worthy of the palate of a philosopher ! I hear that Charles's taste in the matter of food is much the same as that of Erasmus ; he likes his meals not so numerous as elegant, and feasts that are dainty rather than long. There can be no want of room in the Prince's empty palace ; and I have not failed to see, how kindly your uncle is disposed towards me, not to say anything of yourself. There will, moreover, be no lack of company, our friend Mark,*—not to

* Marcus Laurinus, Dean or Coadjutor-Dean of the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges. See Epistle 620.

mention others,—being at hand. You may therefore, if you please, talk the matter over with your uncle, since this can be done without committing any one; and if no obstacle occurs, the sum to be paid may be easily settled between us. If there should be anything to make it inconvenient, inform me by letter: meantime farewell.

You will give my salutation to the most courteous Charles, and to Robert Afinius with his wife.* Salute also all your colleagues, especially the Chanter and Nicolas Fistula.

Louvain, 9 Sept. 1517.†

The following letter appears to have been sent to James Lefèvre,—I presume, at Paris,—with a copy of Erasmus's *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum*, which had been lately printed at Louvain. In order to account for the controversial character of his own work, Erasmus reminds his correspondent of some of the phrases used by Lefèvre in criticizing the writer's commentaries on St. Paul. See the letter to Tunstall, Epistle 580, vol. ii. p. 586.

Erasmus had, as we have seen already, returned to Louvain, where his headquarters were now definitely established, nothing further being heard of the projected removal to Bruges, of which we have some indication in the last letter.

EPISTLE 630. Auctarium, p. 195; Ep. iii. 33; C. 265 (271).

Erasmus to James Lefèvre.

Our common well-wishers, my dear Lefèvre, are sorry for us both. They are sorry for you, who have been so unluckily induced by some Power,—Heaven knows what,—to attack me without any reason in an offensive criticism, and

* Ac Roberto Affini cum sua conjuge. Perhaps we may read Afinio; we see in Epistles 536, 677, that Erasmus was on intimate terms with another person of the surname of Afinius, Henry Afinius of Antwerp.

† Lovanij, Quinto Idus Septemb. Anno M. D. xvii.

to attack me in such a way, that it was not open for me to hold my tongue, without admitting all those accusations to be true : ' language ' (for example) ' unworthy of Christ and of God,' a passage ' contradicting itself and declaring its own falsehood,' a passage ' opposed to the Prophetic intelligence,' a passage ' favourable to the pestilent Jews and with them insulting to Christ,' a passage ' worthy of the Anticyras,' a sentence ' to which if I adhered, I should be a heretic,' and a great many other accusations of the same kind. For if there were only one or two such missiles, I might perhaps have taken no notice of it.

Our friends, as I have said, are also sorry for me, who busy as I am, and having the greatest distaste for that kind of writing, have been compelled to enter the lists against a person, for whom of all others I have the greatest regard. Those people on the other hand, who are ill-disposed to both of us and to all sounder studies, are rejoicing. They are provided with an objection they may use against either, and with the means of impairing the credit of both, and of consoling their own ignorance. May I lose the favour of Christ, if I do not hate, not only this necessity, but also the victory which every one attributes to me. Therefore, my dear Lefèvre, I beseech you by all that is sacred, to let there be an end to this impious contest. It is better (according to the Greek proverb) to run back than to run amiss.* But if you are determined to fall foul of Erasmus, do abstain from expressions which cannot be passed without notice. We have given too much pleasure to those votaries of ancient ignorance. I send you my pamphlet, in case you have not yet seen it. Read it carefully through ; and then call yourself into counsel, and do not let the instigation of others drive you to a position, which you will afterwards be sorry to have reached. Curb the pen of your friends. I have

* πάλιν δραμεῖν ἀμεινον ἢ κακῶς δραμεῖν. *Adagia*, cap. *Sera pœnitentia*.

hitherto kept my friends in check. Let us both act in pure and truly Christian sincerity. You shall find no want of candour in me. Farewell.

Louvain, 11 Sept. 1517.*

We have learned from Epistle 613, that Gerard Listrius, who was a married layman and schoolmaster living at Zwolle in North Holland (see Epistle 407, vol. ii. p. 279), had published an edition of the *Moria* with notes. He appears to have lately ventured to supply a learned friar, who was travelling from his neighbourhood to Louvain, with an introduction to Erasmus, apologizing in his letter for the trouble he was giving. To this communication Erasmus returns a friendly reply. The French translation of the Praise of Folly by George Haloin, of which Erasmus gives his opinion in the following letter, appears to have been published in August, 1517. See Epistle 613.

EPISTLE 631. Epist. ad diversos, p. 506; Ep. xiii. 9;
C. 265 (270).

Erasmus to Gerard Listrius.

I am rather obliged to you than otherwise for giving me this afternoon an opportunity of having a talk with your Friar, so far is it from having been a trouble to me; for indeed I have been greatly pleased with the man's character.

I heartily congratulate you on your marriage, and pray that your happiness may be lasting. If your wife thinks kindly of us, I owe it entirely to you; if she loves us, it is with your heart, not with her own.

The *Moria* has been so turned into French, that the translator has told quite a different tale,—not the same story in another way,—leaving out a number of passages, which he did not understand!

At this next Fair † a new volume of Epistles is to come

* Lovainij, tertio Idus Septemb. M. D. XVII.

† His nundinis proximis. The *Auctarium Epistolarum*, the next collection published, was not issued until August, 1518. See Introduction, p. xxx.

out, of considerable size ; we are going to revise those already printed, and with some additional letters make up a fair volume.

I will write to Tilmann as you desire, when an opportunity occurs for sending a letter to him ; and that will be soon.

As to the *Enchiridion*, I do not quite understand what you wish, and shall be much obliged if you will explain ; and in case you want any explanations from me, you must point out the passages that appear obscure.

Whatever credit Erasmus may enjoy in your parts is chiefly due to your fair judgment. Here they are seriously engaged in patching up an agreement, after pouring out all their venom ; but I am resolved nevertheless to shew a Christian spirit throughout. I am surprised at those professors of Evangelical purity making such an unevangelical onslaught upon a man's good name ; while they chatter, about things they do not understand, to persons who understand them no better. They deserve not merely to be a laughing stock to children, but to be publicly stoned. Nevertheless Truth will conquer,—make no doubt of that.

Give my salutation once more to Simon, and to the Prior of Berg, but especially to your sweet little Justina,* to whom I wish all possible good luck and happiness.

I have not seen the Prior of St. Agnes yet, having had no opportunity of doing so in the midst of so many obstructions.

Farewell, most learned Listrius.

Louvain, 11 September, 1517.†

Epistles 632 and 633 are addressed to Erasmus by the young prince Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg and Archbishop of Mayence, and by his Secretary, Henry Stromer. See vol. ii. p. 597. It has been

* See the second paragraph of this letter.

† Lovanii, tertio Id. Septemb. Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo-septimo.

thought worth while to translate the epistle of the young Archbishop, which appears all the more likely to have been in its origin of his own composition, as its involved clauses differ from the easier style of his Secretary. This epistle has the following formal address: Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, Primate of Germany, Prince Elector and Margrave of Brandenburg, *etc.* to our beloved Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Greeting in Christ.

EPISTLE 632. Deventer MS.; C. 350 (334).

Albert, Archbishop of Mayence to Erasmus.

Having lately been reading the volumes which you have published, most learned Erasmus, and having admired their genius, erudition and eloquence, I have been seized with a great desire to see you, being convinced that nothing is more becoming to our dignity (inasmuch as by Divine goodness we have been raised to the highest rank among bishops) than to embrace and assist that person, who, not only in Germany but generally throughout Europe, holds the principal place in Literature; and further considering, that if it were our fortune to depart this life without having seen you, we should judge that we had lost whatever happiness we might claim, as having been born at a time when so great a man is by his learning and diligence vindicating our common fatherland from the imputation of barbarism, and is indeed restoring to its proper splendour and original beauty that divine science of Theology, which has been disfigured for so many centuries.

What indeed could be more desired at this time, than that our copies of the New Testament should be more free from error? But under your interpretation every spot is wiped away, and brightness is everywhere restored. What again was more to be regretted, than that Jerome should in our hands be so mutilated and altered from his proper self? And it is by your care that he has been brought back into

the light, and as it were recalled from death to life. All honour to you, Erasmus; *sic itur ad astra*.

In case at any time you should travel this way, pray do not grudge to visit one, whose feelings and opinions about you are such as I have indicated. It will indeed be a happy day,—if such a day should dawn upon us,—in which we shall fix our eyes upon your face, and our ears shall listen to your sweet discourse. We shall judge ourselves to be like those old admirers of Livy! * It is our prayer to Christ, that we may enjoy the presence and conversation of one, whom absent we admire in his books; and we hope it may come to pass, as we have begged already,† that the Lives of some of the Saints may be made illustrious by your pen.

Farewell, most learned Erasinus. Take care of yourself for our sake, and let us see you. Again farewell.

Written on the thirteenth day of September at our town of Steinheim with our own hand.

Steinheim, 13 September, [1517].‡

The above epistle of the Archbishop was accompanied by the following communication from his secretary, Henry Stromer.

EPISTLE 633. Deventer MS.; C. 1631 (181).

Henry Stromer to Erasmus.

The letter I have received from you, most wise and eloquent Sir, was more welcome to me than gold or the most

* The Archbishop recalls the story of the Spaniard, who travelled from Cadiz to Rome to see Livy, and having seen him, returned to Cadiz.

† quod iam quærimus: *qu.* quæsimus. See vol. ii. p. 598.

‡ Ex oppido nostro Steynheyem 13. Septemb. manu nostra propria, An. post nat. Christum 1518. C. The accompanying letter of Stromer (Epistle 633) appears to be dated correctly with the year 1517. The Archbishop's letter is mentioned in the letter of Gerardus Noviomagus, Epistle 728, dated 10 Jan. [1518], as having been written "some months before."

precious gems; and, as I read it over and over again, the immense kindness, which is united with your consummate erudition, stood revealed before me. Indeed the greater your learning and eloquence, so much the more modestly do you deal with a barbarian like me.

In order that you may recognize my respect for you, I have induced the Archbishop, my illustrious Prince, who is most truly yours, to write to you with his own hand. Compelled as I am myself, being overwhelmed with business, to write briefly, there has been all the more occasion for him to write at length. I would have you believe what he writes: His Highness admits no discord between mind and voice; his lips and his heart agree.

Farewell, pride and glory of all the Learned, and accept the duty of your most outspoken admirer.

Written in haste at Steinheim, 13 September, 1517.*

Tunstall appears to have spent some weeks at Middelburg in Zealand in attendance upon King Charles, before the latter embarked for Spain. The following epistle, written from Bruges a few days after the king's departure, includes an account of the country, in which the writer had been staying, and with which he had become better acquainted than he desired.

EPISTLE 634. Auctarium, p. 129; Ep. iii. 2, C. 266 (272).

Cuthbert Tunstall to Erasmus.

At last the King of Spain has set sail for his kingdom, and I have returned, only just alive, with my party from Zealand. I was so affected by the foul and evidently pestilential air of that region, that after a fast of several days I have not yet quite driven off the fever, which was

* Datum celerrime Steynheim 13. Septembris, Anno post natalem Christ. 1517. C.

beginning to attack me. Three of the most useful of my servants were already laid up with the disease, before I left the place ; and if I had not by the doctor's advice sent them away at once for a change of air I should by this time have buried them all ; and I would give a good sum to be able to say, that they will even now be saved.* This was not my lot only. Most of the Court were ill, and we may thank God, that the King escaped. Of the Prelates a good number were ailing, as that island did not let any one go without some suffering. I think the river Styx is not far off ; the waters are so black and bitter.

If you remain at home in the town,† your nostrils are choked with the smoke of the peat, which they use instead of wood. This, being dug out of a salt and muddy soil, however much it is dried in the sun, gives out, when burned, a smoke which penetrates to the very entrails, affecting the chest, the nostrils, the head and every part of the body. I heard from the natives, that your peat in Holland being dug out of a milder soil, is sweet-scented compared with this. If you want to relieve the dulness of the town by taking a walk, as I was wont to do from time to time, the very road after the smallest shower sticks to the foot with more tenacity than glue, while the height of the dikes forbids your turning aside into a field or meadow ; and in order to reach the sea-walls, which provide the only agreeable walk, you have to pass over a multitude of dikes, upon which they steep flax, and which stink worse than any cesspit. If the walk has refreshed you, your return to the town across such dikes quite spoils the effect, and sends you home melancholy. The whole country is two paces lower than the sea at high water, and if it were not for the walls, the sea monsters would break in upon the inhabitants, where they sit carousing and drinking each other's health. To

* See the last sentence of this letter.

† I presume Middelburg.

avoid the mischievous effects of the climate, they say the only safeguard is to drain whole gallons of drink,—a remedy, to my apprehension, worse than any disease ; for you know how readily I throw up the sponge in that sort of encounter ! *

But what am I about, falling foul of an island so productive, and so well-harboured, without mentioning anything that might be said in favour of it ? The fact is, it does one good to revenge myself upon it in some sort of way, and to pour out against the place itself the bile which its annoyances have engendered. And in this vindictive spirit, I will keep to myself anything that might be said in its praise. But to deal seriously with you, I am glad to be restored at length to the mainland, where the climate is more wholesome ; and as my shattered health will permit, I shall creep back by degrees to my own country, leaving here those of my servants that are too sick to accompany me. I pray God, they may in time recover.

I have received from you the *Apologia* in which you reply to Lefèvre, together with your letter ; and I had received some days before another letter, in which you said you were going to answer him, but without loss of temper. I am glad at any rate that you made that resolve, as I had intended to exhort you to reply as becomes a theologian, that is, in a tolerant spirit. This is the point in which he has failed, pronouncing sentence in his own cause and arrogantly insisting on his own opinion, as if it was not rather for others, or for posterity, to judge ; although I have never thought, that upon a question in which the Truth was concerned, you ought ever to surrender to him or to any mortal. But you are right in asking so modestly at the beginning of your *Apologia*, to have your own feathers restored to you by the raven. I wait to see what excuse he will make, but I suppose he will meet it without a blush.

* quam facile in eo genere certaminis herbam porrigo.

I happened once to see him in Italy ; he then appeared a modest person, and was said to be thoroughly accomplished in that circle of knowledge, the possessors of which are honoured at Paris with the name of Master.† That he had given any attention to Greek, I gathered first from his published commentaries upon the Pauline Epistles. It may be, that it was after he had detected by reference to Greek sources several errors made by neoteric theologians, that he thought it worth while,—as a blinkard is a rather keensighted person among the blind,—to publish his own commentaries for the instruction of posterity. And herein I approve the man's intention—if he saw his way to carry it out ; for in this pursuit, as in the sacred games, the prize is open to any person that can win it.

* * * * *

There is one thing I regret,—that, while composing an Apology against this writer, you have lost the time in which you might have written what would have been more useful to posterity. Do therefore bestow your first attention upon the revision of your Notes on the New Testament, which, in consequence of your promise, is greedily expected by everybody. Having deserved well of profane literature and won immortal fame in its service, you will do well, if you spend the remainder of your life in the illustration of Sacred Letters. Posterity will infer, that the studies which concern the salvation of the soul have been dearer to you than those which afford mere amusement, when the latter have most attracted you in youth, but the former, embraced in mature years, have been deemed a worthy occupation for your age.

I am very glad, that you are so much in favour with the Theologians of Louvain. If they propose to admit you into their order, as you say they would do, I advise you not to

† *Cyclopædiam illam, quam adeptos magisterii nomine Parisii honorant, penitus callere dicebatur.* As to this title, see an observation in p. 5, note.

refuse. This honour, offered to you by them and accepted by you, will be a perpetual pledge of friendship.

When you tell me, that Strabo, Pindar, Pausanias and both Testaments are to be issued in Greek type from the Aldine press, I am incredibly delighted. I foresee the time when our descendants will vie with antiquity in every kind of study. And if they are not ungrateful, they will own their obligation to the men, by whose industry such studies are now being revived. Of these you are one; and you will, I trust, continue to deserve well of Posterity, which will never let the name of Erasmus perish. Farewell.

Before sending off this letter, I have lost one of my people, for whose recovery I would have given all my fortune. May God have mercy on his soul! As to the others, the prospect is still doubtful.

Bruges, 14 September, [1517].

Thomas Lupset was at this time at Paris, where he was passing Linacre's translation of Galen through the press. See vol. ii. pp. 447, 448. And it appears by the following letter, which is preserved in the Deventer volume, that he thought he had in some way incurred the displeasure of Erasmus; but it will be seen that the latter, in his answer (Epistle 662), does not admit this.

EPISTLE 635. D; C. 1570 (79).

Thomas Lupset to Erasmus.

I will write a few lines, my most honoured preceptor, being hampered with a variety of business, and indeed, to speak more plainly, being doubtful of your feeling towards me. If it could be obtained by praying, I would pray, and indeed in any case I do most ardently beseech you to throw up all your anger against me, and whatever fault I have committed, to attribute it to my youth, and forgive it. Be

assured,—as most true it is,—that I ought to be freed from any blame in the betrayal of that booklet,* and that there is no one now alive, more ready than I am to carry out your wishes ; and do finally banish from your mind, as utterly false, that suspicion you spoke of, that many persons had by my means been alienated from you. In this behalf I call all the Saints to witness, and may they destroy me on the spot, if in any company, even when unjustly provoked, I have ever spoken anything of you, but what a grateful pupil might becomingly say of a preceptor to whom he was deeply obliged. I applied some time ago to Master More to make my peace with you by a letter in my favour, being,—to say the truth,—afraid of writing myself ; but as I hear nothing from you, I am inclined to think that he has either not attended to my cause, or that you are still angry.

Farewell, kind Master. Believe that if you love me, you will not love, as you say, a reluctant youth, but one that is most desirous of your favour, and will heartily return your love. That you may more readily forget my follies, you must understand that nothing gives me more sorrow than the recollection of my former behaviour. Again farewell.

Written in haste at Paris, on the morrow of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,† from the Lombards' College ; where I

* In illius libelli proditiōe. Lupset had had for some time in his charge some papers of Erasmus, probably entrusted to him for transcription, among which was the manuscript of the *Julius Exclusus* : and it may be conjectured that Erasmus suspected him of having shown this manuscript without permission, or spoken indiscreetly about it. See vol. ii. pp. 299, 447.

† Raptim Parisiis postridie exaltationis S. Crucis, sive 15 Sept. Anno 1516. C. The latter words of this date (after *Crucis*) are probably an insertion in the Deventer copy, from which this Epistle is taken, the festival date being rightly explained, and the year-date added, like many other year-dates in that Manuscript, by conjecture. Two editions of the *Utopia* appear to have been published at Paris by Gilles Gourmont, one being the original edition of 1516, and the other an edition without date, which is probably that on which Lupset was at this time engaged. See vol. ii. p. 15.

shall stay for this month and some days following, and shall then fly back to England.

We have finished, within these few days, Linacre's work *De Sanitate tuenda*. I am now attending to the republication of More's *Utopia*, which I hope to complete at the end of this month. Please deign to let me know by a short letter, whether those papers, which by your direction I left with More, have been delivered to you.

Paris, 15 September [1517].

CHAPTER XLI.

Continued residence at Louvain, September, 1517. Letters of Erasmus to Clava, More, Bishop Fisher, Tunstall, Giles Busleiden and others; Letters of Peter Gillis, Pirckheimer and others to Erasmus. Epistles 636 to 651.

It appears by the following letter, which has been preserved in the Deventer volume, that Erasmus had met at Louvain an old acquaintance, who had become a person of some importance, but is not easily identified, the address, in all the letters to this correspondent, having been, for some reason of which we have no explanation, omitted or erased. See Epistles 645, 696. It may be probably conjectured, that the common patron of Erasmus and his correspondent, in whose house they had in old days been residing together, was the Bishop of Cambrai, with whom Erasmus was living some five and twenty years before. See vol. i. pp. 92 to 94. His old companion had himself now become a dignitary of the Church.

EPISTLE 636. Deventer MS. ; C. 1659 (243).

*Erasmus to * * **

Most Reverend Father, as I was returning home by the Market-place after breakfast to-day, —Paludanus pointed you out to me, and I recognised your Fatherhood, but not until you had already gone by. I was sorry and glad at the same time,—sorry that I did not see you in time to show you the

respect I owe you,—glad to learn that you were here in the character of so great a prelate, being one with whom in old days I had had both a home and a Mæcenās in common, and for whom I had had a special regard on account of our attachment to like studies. I congratulate you upon your success, while I do not regret my own fortune, which might have been greater, if I had desired it; but this humble condition was more attractive to my mind. I should have flown to see you, if I were not tied at home by catarrh, the common complaint of students.*

Send your commands to your Erasmus; you will find in him a client prepared to shew you every respect.

Farewell to your Reverend Fatherhood, whose devoted servant I am.

Louvain [September] 1517.†

We have in the Deventer volume five letters of Erasmus dated at Louvain on the 16th of September, 1517, all of which appear to have been despatched by the hands of John Frieslander (Joannes Phrysius); whom Erasmus was sending to Ghent, Bruges and Calais, and thence (if expedient) to England, with recommendations to Clava, Laurinus, More, Bishop Fisher, and Sixtinus (Epistles 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 643), in the hope that he might find some employment, for which a person of education was required. Of these letters, all dated on the 16th of September, the first to be delivered would be that addressed to Ghent, where Erasmus, beside his friend Antonius Clava, had a younger correspondent in Robertus Cæsar, a student of Law, and proprietor of one of the great mansions in that city. See Epistle 508, vol. ii. p. 475.

* This attack of cold (pituïta) is mentioned in several letters (Epistles 636 to 650), to some of which it assists in assigning an approximate date. It appears that we are now at the beginning of the complaint, as the patient has not been prevented from going out for his morning meal (prandium). Compare Epistles 645, 646, written a few days later.

† Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 637. Deventer MS. ; C. 1631 (182)

Erasmus to Antonius Clava.

We have left no stone unturned, to keep the Frieslander * here, but the Fates are against it. He is off to the shades below ; † and I have myself more than once been sorry to have come to Louvain, but am ashamed of changing my mind. I sent my *Apologia* by the Hollander. ‡ Do see if you can force my present messenger upon those Brothers of Jerome, most unlike him as they are ! §

Farewell, best of patrons, with all your family, and be so good as to convey my salutation to Cæsar. I have been writing this, almost killed with catarrh.

Louvain, 16 September, 1517. ||

The following Epistle, bearing the same date and entrusted to the same messenger as the last, was addressed to the Coadjutor Dean of the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges. See p. 35. The letter mentioned in the first sentence is Epistle 620, written nine days before, and sent with Epistle 619. See pp. 34, 35.

EPISTLE 638. Deventer MS. ; C. 1632 (185).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

Sincerest of friends, I have lately written by the Hollander. I do not want to put you to inconvenience for my gratification,

* Phrysium.

† petit inferos. Erasmus was sending the Frieslander across the sea to England. See Epistles 638, 639, 640, 641.

‡ per Batavum. See pp. 34, 35.

§ Vide an hunc possis obtrudere Fratribus istis Hieronymi dissimillimis.

|| Lovanio 16. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

but should be very glad to have your company. I sent the *Apologia ad Fabrum* by the same messenger. If you do not come, at any rate pay us a visit by letter.

I write this, almost killed with catarrh. Take care of your own health ; and salute Master Dean, Master Lewis my host,* and the rest of the party heartily for me.

Oh, the barrenness of this country ! This Frieslander, with as many accomplishments as Mercury himself, has found no opening here. His last anchorage must be sought in Britain ; if I had not myself found some help there, Erasmus would still be a beggar.

Louvain, from the Lilian College, 16 September, 1517.†

Peter, nicknamed by Erasmus, *Cocles* or *Monoculus*,—was a courier who had long been employed on occasions by him. See vol. ii. Index, s. v. Peter. He was now under orders to go as far as Calais, and to carry thither from Antwerp and deliver to More the picture containing the likenesses of Erasmus and Peter Gillis, which had been painted by Quentin Matsys. See vol. ii. pp. 558, 559, 585.

EPISTLE 639. Deventer MS. ; C. 1631 (183).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

I am sending *me* ‡ to you by One-eyed Peter, who for this purpose is going out of his way to Calais. There is no occasion for you to pay him anything, unless it be ten or a dozen groats § for the cost of his journey ; all the rest has been settled by me.

I hope you may be able without inconvenience to fly

* *magistro Ludovico hospiti meo.* Erasmus had made a stay of some days, at the end of June last past, at Bruges, where Master (or Doctor) Lewis may have been his host. See vol. ii. p. 571.

† *Lovanio ex Liliano Gymnasio 16. Septembris, An. 1517. C.*

‡ *Misi me*,—me, as represented in Matsys' picture.

§ *decem aut duodecim grossos.*

over hither. We should then both begin to recover a little ; for while I have been trying to put Peter Gillis on his legs again, I have caught a most horrible catarrh, which worries me so much that I am almost dead with it.

Atensis approves my works without exception. Dorpius is sincerely friendly, but is so stingy,—not to say hungry,—about his own credit, that he has very little praise to spare for a friend.

Do, my More, take care to keep your health, and then we shall be well too. If you come to Bruges, send for Master Marcus,* the Dean of St. Donatian, who is a very loving friend of mine.

I have received a commission on the part of the Emperor about some matters of importance, but shall do anything rather than become entangled in that kind of business ; and how glad I should be, if you were clear ! Farewell.

I do not wish to obtrude the bearer upon you ; but if you want a clerk, he writes correctly and legibly in Greek as well as Latin. Farewell again.

Louvain, 16 September, 1517.

In the above letter there seems something of presentiment in the anxious wish expressed by the writer, that More might not become involved in political employment. The postscript relates to the Frieslander, mentioned in Epistles 637, 638, 640 and 641, who appears to have taken charge of the letter, and accompanied Peter to Calais.

A short letter of Erasmus, bearing the same date as the last,—the address of which is wanting in Le Clerc's edition (and presumably also in the Deventer MS.),—we may safely conjecture to have been written to Bishop Fisher. The letter therein referred to, as lately sent by Erasmus to his correspondent, was, no doubt, Epistle 625, dated eight days before, which was accompanied by a copy of the second Book of the Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza. See pp. 41, 42.

* accerse D. Marcum : let Marcus Laurinus know of your arrival, in order that he may pay you a visit.

EPISTLE 640. Deventer MS.; C. 1632 (186).

Erasmus [to Bishop Fisher.]

Reverend Father, I sent by One-eyed Peter the second Book of Theodore, and also a short letter. The bearer of this, John Frieslander, writes Greek and Latin legibly, and with fair correctness. You were speaking some time ago of having some book printed ; if he makes a copy and collates it, your manuscript may remain safe in your hands. He is leaving this barren region in search of richer pastures.

As I write this, I am suffering from a severe cold, not without fever. Do take care of your own health, my best of Patrons.

Louvain, 16 September, 1517.

Another letter of Erasmus, EPISTLE 641,—of the same date as the last, and sent, no doubt, by the same messenger,—was likewise intended for England, being addressed to Dr. John Sixtinus, to whom the bearer, John Frieslander (*Joannes Phrysius*), is also recommended. Peter Gillis is seriously ill, and the writer himself is almost dead with catarrh.

Epistle 642, dated the day after the last, recalls Erasmus' old relations with the Abbey of St. Bertin and the town of St. Omer, where Antony of Lutzenburg was a Canon ; see vol. i. p. 347, ii. p. 87. Erasmus has heard, that some ill-natured friend has at this late hour called the attention of his old patron, the Abbot, to passages in the *Moria*,—now translated into French, see Epistles 613, 631,—in which the author had been wanting in reverence for the institution of which the Abbot was an important dignitary.

EPISTLE 642. Deventer MS. ; C. 1632 (187).

Erasmus to Antony of Lutzenburg.

I hear that the Abbot is a little out of humour with us ; and I think it is because he has been told that the *Moria* contains some satire against the Monks ; and yet I cannot well believe what I hear ; I know the man's good sense. The object of that book was to make fun, and nothing serious was to be looked for in it ; and yet there was nothing said maliciously against Monks. The work gave no offence to the Pope, who read it from beginning to end, and agreed in approval of the author's spirit.

The Prior of the Carthusians has not sent back Reuchlin's letter. If you fall in with him, please remind him of it ; and salute the man in my name.

I am now acting a part in a Theological comedy ; and whatever turn the thing may take, at any rate the leading men,—Atensis, Vianensis* and Dorpius,—are favourable ; but I have no mind to go on at this rate for any length of time, acting plays at my own cost, for fear of being hurt by the Theologians. To James Lefèvre, after being challenged in such a hateful way, I have made answer freely, but without any contumely ; I dare say the little book has already reached you.

If I am not mistaken, More is now at Calais, having a commission there on behalf of his king.

Thierry, a Bachelor of Theology, who is the bearer of this, has some business or other with the Abbot ; he is learned, amusing and honest, and should you have any opportunity of forwarding his affair, pray be like yourself.

* Vianensis has been already mentioned as a leading theologian at Louvain ; see p. 34.

You will give my best wishes to Ghisbert the physician, who is always my friend, and to his wife,—though she is my foe, but only when I am there !—also to Gerard, the kindest of gentlemen ; and to Charles the economic ; * and pray, my dearest Antony, take the very best care of your own health.

Louvain, St. Lambert's day (17 September) 1517.†

Erasmus' *Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* has at the conclusion the date, Louanio 5. Augusti Anno 1517. See vol. ii. p. 601. It had apparently been printed and published before the date of the above letter, and on the 22nd of September it had been already read by Cæsarius at Cologne. See Epistles 647, 648.

Paschasius Berselius, the writer of the following epistle, was apparently an inmate of a small religious establishment at Liège, who was ambitious of being a correspondent of Erasmus, with whom he appears to have already exchanged letters, which have not been preserved. From one of the clauses of this epistle, it would seem that the writer was in some way attached to the Bishop of Liège, possibly as one of his chaplains. The young Hebrew teacher, whom he recommends to Erasmus, found, as we have seen, the ground he may have had in view, already occupied by an older and more experienced teacher.

EPISTLE 643. Deventer MS. ; C. 1633 (188).

Paschasius Berselius to Erasmus.

I know, Erasmus, how shameless and presumptuous I was, when some days ago, I ventured,—a poor fly,—to write to such a hero of Letters as yourself. It certainly was not for so insignificant a creature as I am, to intrude himself upon one whose whole time was employed in the restoration of

* *Salutabis . . . Carolum æconomicum.* C.

† *Lov. Nat. Lamb. Deventer MS. Lovanio 17 Septembris Anno 1517.* C.

sacred Literature, or to seek his acquaintance, whom so many of the best of Bishops, so many Kings, so many of the most illustrious professors of Literature not only approve, but venerate and worship. I admit the crime I have committed, which I trust you will impute to Love, who being blind himself, had deprived me of sight. I thought that you would be indulgent to a fault committed under such an influence ; and in this hope I have not been disappointed. Instead of that silence, which was the penalty I feared, you have returned me,—such is your kindness,—an abundant reward ; I have received what I had never thought to have,—that letter of yours, full of affection, and of thanks ! That was on the 14th of September ; and no day in my whole life has ever brought me more pleasure. I could not bear myself, so long as I was carrying that fetter, which you depicted with so learned a hand at the top of your page ; it touched my affections, it wounded my heart. Never have I felt such sweet allurements of love ; may God grant that I may often enjoy a like pleasure ! I carefully preserve your letter, and regard it as a lasting pledge of your affection.*

Our prelate† has gone a few days ago to France, and the time of his return is uncertain. As soon as he has come back to this city or to his own country, we shall be ready, and will endeavour, to carry out,—and that not coldly or indifferently,—what you have bid us do.

The young man who brings you this letter is a very agreeable person of a most kindly character ; he has been staying with us almost a whole month, and during that time has taught me the rudiments of Hebrew. I had learned those of Greek from Aleander, not long before he set out for Italy. You may see, my preceptor, what efforts I am

* The epistle of Erasmus, which Berselius took such pains to preserve, was not copied in the Deventer volume, and has consequently been lost.

† The Bishop of Liège, Erard de la Marck.

making, and I am only afraid that while I try to sit upon two stools at once, I shall keep my place on neither. Nevertheless I shall not cease to exert every effort to carry out my object, and unsparing labour may perhaps overcome every obstacle.

I commend to you my Hebrew teacher, who is going to Louvain for the purpose of seeing you, and will in good time return to us, I trust not without a letter from you ; for we still want what we were craving in our former letter, and you have so kindly promised in yours,—I mean, the titles of all the books which you have published or have now on the anvil. If you will let me have them, you cannot do me a kinder service.

Please give my salutation to your friends, Dorpius and Paludanus, for I love them both dearly, although neither is known to me as yet even by sight. Louvain has nothing more perfect than those Heroes of Letters.

Farewell, and be pleased to return the love of your son, Berselius, who yields to no one in affection for you.

From our cell at Liège,* the 17th of September, 1517.

Adrian Baarland, the writer of the following letter, was a Professor or Teacher in the University of Louvain, and appears also to have been specially engaged as preceptor to the young Cardinal de Croy, the nephew of the minister, Chièvres, see vol. ii. p. 590.

EPISTLE 644. Deventer MS. ; C. 1584 (99).

Adrian Baarland to Erasmus.

I give you hearty thanks, most learned teacher, for your love of one so utterly unlearned as myself, and should be

* E cellula nostra apud Leodios 17. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

glad of any occasion to show how fully I return your love. Such an opportunity will be given, if, as you well may, you issue your command to Baarland, who will never be loth to undertake any task for the sake of Erasmus. But without more preface, I will come to what I wanted to ask you. At the most reverend Cardinal's lodging our discussion about old age did not stop short of extreme vituperation of that condition of life! With respect to the passage, in which Cato discourses about the Immortality of the Soul, you will help forward the studies of our most noble and hopeful youth, and will also greatly oblige me, if in this little note-book, brought you with this letter by one of our pupils, you will insert a few notes in explanation of that passage in Cicero about the Immortality of the Soul; for what is supplied by the commentators appears to me to be mere nonsense. I know that Lactantius in his *Institutiones* has written many eloquent observations, which might be useful to me in this matter; but I had rather obtain from Erasmus, that is from a storehouse of eloquence and wisdom, what I require for my most Reverend pupil, who does not dislike me, while he has the kindest possible feeling for you.

I am hindered from more often visiting you by various worries connected with my lectures, by which I am distracted. If I am ever permitted to get rid of these trifles, I shall not, in my attentions, fall short of any of those who are dearest to you.

Farewell, most learned preceptor.

From our house [Louvain, September, 1517].*

The following short epistle is without date of day, but appears to have been written by Erasmus at Louvain and addressed to Ioannes

* Domi nostræ, Anno 1516. C.

Atensis, the Vice-chancellor of the University, while the writer was still confined to his room by catarrh. See Epistles 637, 640, 646. This letter is mainly of interest as showing that Erasmus was invited to take part in some plan,—perhaps for modifying the regulations of the University,—of the nature of which we have no information, but which seems to have been considered of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Imperial Government.

EPISTLE 645. Deventer MS. ; C. 1652 (229).

*Erasmus to Master Atensis.**

With respectful greeting. A commission has been entrusted to me, as on the part of the Emperor, which the person by whom the message came thought to be of great importance to the well-being and safety of the Commonwealth. I have only accepted it for consideration, reserving still the liberty to give no answer. If you ever have a short hour to spare, I should like to talk the matter over with you ; for this is included in my instructions. Please name some time when you will be at leisure, either to-day or to-morrow, and I will call ; for just now I am not going out without occasion, being kept at home by catarrh. Farewell, most learned Preceptor.

Louvain, [September] 1517.†

The following note (without date of day) appears to have been written to the same nameless Prelate addressed in Epistle 636. In the meantime we may assume that Erasmus had received a message from his correspondent, proposing an interview.

* M. N. Atensi Erasmus Rot. S. P. D. C. I presume M. N. means *Magistro nostro*. The title of *Master* was equivalent to *Doctor*. See before pp. 5, 62, and vol. ii. pp. 574, 579.

† Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 646. Deventer MSS. ; C. 1660 (244).

Erasmus to * * *

My cold, which is getting worse, has quite carried away my voice, and has brought with it a slight attack of fever. I shall therefore look forward to enjoy the company of your Fatherhood later, but more agreeably. I must now be a slave to my complaint. Your kindness will agree to a postponement, which is in any case extorted by necessity.

Louvain, [September] 1517.*

The following epistle, addressed to Tunstall, is also without date of day, but may be assumed to have been written soon after the receipt of Tunstall's letter of the 14th of September, 1517, to which it is an answer. See Epistle 634.

EPISTLE 647. Auctarium, p. 134 ; Ep. iii. 3 ; C. 288 (293).

Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall.

Our Zealand is much indebted to you for honouring her with that graphic sketch of yours,† but you are still under some obligation to her for letting you go even half-alive ! I am sorry your household has suffered. But do pray take every care that you may yourself be restored safe to your England ; it would be sad indeed, if, after arranging everything else to your satisfaction, that which concerned you most of all was not concluded as we should wish.

* Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

† quam tua illa tam graphica *ὑποτυπώσει* nobilitasti.

What you say about our *Apologia ad Fabrum*, although I know it is written in a most friendly spirit, has been doubly painful to me, both because it revives an old annoyance, and because I think you have been induced to form a lower opinion than I should wish of Lefèvre, who is as honest and courteous a man as you would find in many thousands. He has only been unlike himself in attacking a friend so bitterly and without cause. But who in the world has never made a mistake? Would that I had been permitted to spare my adversary! As it is, I am distressed on two accounts, both because I have been forced to come to blows with such a friend, and because I find that some people think less fairly of Lefèvre, of whom I should wish every one to have the best possible opinion. I must add, that in attributing to me a capacity for which I look in vain at home, you show your own loving character; it is not the only instance of your generosity.

I find the divines of Louvain candid and courteous, especially Atensis, the Chancellor of the University, a man of incomparable learning and singular kindness. There is no less theological erudition here than at Paris, but there is less sophistry and less conceit. Farewell.

Louvain, [September] 1517.*

The *Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum*, which is included in the ninth volume of the works of Erasmus (*Erasmi Opera* vol. ix. pp. 18-66) is a pamphlet in the form of a letter, written for publication and having the dimensions of a book. It bears date at its conclusion, Louanio, 5 Augusti, Anno 1517 (see our second volume, p. 601), and we have seen (Epistles 637, 638), that copies were sent to Clava and Laurinus before the middle of September. It appears by the following letter, that at the end of the third week of that month it had been already received and read at Cologne.

* Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 648. Deventer MS.; C. 1633 (189).

Joannes Cæsarius to Erasmus.

I have seen during the last few days the *Apologeticon* addressed to Lefèvre of Étapes, which has come out in your name, and have read it. It is beyond belief, how sorry I am for you both,—not that I am ignorant that there has always been this kind of conflict between the most learned men, and that the very holiest have failed to keep clear of it; but in the present condition of things such a controversy appears to be very inexpedient. As soon as the barbarians, who are the mortal enemies of you both, have become aware, that two learned men of such importance, have drawn their swords against each other,—they will doubtless entertain the highest hopes of their own victory. But their vain thought will, I do not doubt, be disappointed. I cannot find fault with your proceeding in this matter; but as I read on, admiring, as I read, the acuteness of your genius, I could not wonder enough, what could have induced so good,—so excellent a person, if he went to war at all, to enter into his first conflict with you. I know his modesty and candid feeling for all wise and good men, having been myself for some years his pupil.

* * *

Our Nuenar has lately had a pamphlet, which has been brought from the City,†—entitled *Reuchlin's Defence*,—printed in more than a thousand copies, two of which are being sent to you. I have myself also in hand a book called *Dialectica*, which I compiled last summer out of the best authors; I wish it could receive some polish by your revision.

† *ex Urbe allatum*, brought from Rome. See more about this book and Count Hermann Nuenar, pp. 126, 127.

For the rest, if you are well, I beg you to write me back word by the first courier. Farewell and very well.

Cologne, 22 September, 1517.*

Jerome Busleiden, a former correspondent of Erasmus (see vol. i. pp. 358, 420, ii. 277, 430), was brother of Francis Busleiden, Archbishop of Besançon, who had died in 1502 (vol. i. pp. 352, 358), and of Giles Busleiden, a more recent correspondent (Epistles 649, 658, 663), who survived his two brothers. Jerome appears to have designed in his life the foundation, in the University of Louvain, of a 'Trilingual College' for the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was an admirer and friend of More, who in his embassy to the Low Countries in May, 1516, visited him in his noble mansion at Mechlin (vol. ii. pp. 260, 261); and his only known composition that was printed in his lifetime appears to have been a letter of commendation, addressed to More upon the request of Erasmus, which was prefixed to the *Utopia* on its first publication. See vol. ii. pp. 422, 430. Having been sent by the Court of Brabant on a diplomatic mission to Spain in the early autumn of 1517, he died,—on his way to that country,—at Besançon on the 27th of August. Among the letters of Erasmus of this period we have three addressed to Giles Busleiden, the survivor of the brothers, Epistles 649, 658, 663. The first of these, written apparently for publication, is without express date of day or month, but judged by its contents, may be probably ascribed to some late day in September, 1517. The writer had been requested,—it would seem by some message from his correspondent,—to compose an epitaph in verse in honour of the deceased.

It seems however a probable conjecture, that this Epistle, designed for publication,—though attributed by its opening words to the earlier date, at which it is here placed,—was really the last written, of the three letters above mentioned, addressed by Erasmus to Giles Busleiden. The two others appear to be genuine letters written for the occasion, in which the writer, first, introduces the Jewish Professor, and then thanks Giles Busleiden for receiving him, promising his own support to the proposed Trilingual College, and contributing the sketch of a Latin epitaph in honour of Jerome Busleiden. See Epistles 658 and 663.

* Colonia 22. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 649. *Auctarium*, p. 140; Epist. iii. 6; C. 377 (362).

*Erasmus to Giles Busleiden.**

How many accomplishments have we lost in one man ! I can easily imagine what are your feelings on the death of a brother, when the whole quire of good and learned men is in unprecedented grief. But of what use are vain regrets or fruitless tears ? It is for this that we are all born !

In the Epitaphs, which I have written, I have neither done enough for his merits, nor satisfied my own wishes. I have importuned the Muses, but have besought them in vain. Having been so many years employed in a kind of study, quite remote from those elegances of literature, I write in fear of your surpassingly sensitive ears. I have nevertheless obeyed your wish, that I might not at any point appear to fail in duty to the name of Busleiden. If you do not like my lines, I will try once more, whether any one of the Muses will deign to give her presence. But I do not doubt, that all to whom good letters are dear, will do their part to commend to immortality this unique patron of study.

Asto the foundation of the College, pray do not allow yourself to be diverted from your purpose. Believe me, it will conduce, more than can be said, to the encouragement of study, and will attach to the name of Busleiden, already in so many ways distinguished, no small accession of lustre and of honour. Farewell.

Louvain, [September 1517].†

The above letter, in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, in which it is printed, is followed by two 'Epitaphs,' one in Greek Iambic verse,

* Erasmus Rot. clarissimo Aegidio Catholici Regis à rationibus, S. D. *Auctarium*.

† Louanij, Anno 1518. *Auctarium*.

the other in Latin Trochaics, which appear to have been intended to be inscribed upon a portrait of Jerome Busleiden, who is described in the title as 'Provost of Aire (præpositus Ariensis), Councillor of the Catholic King, brother of Francis formerly Archbishop of Besançon, and founder of a College at Louvain for the public teaching of the three tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.' The interest taken by Erasmus in the proposed College is shown by several subsequent letters.

It appears from the first words of Epistle 650, that Erasmus had lately written a letter to Gillis, which has not been preserved. In the present epistle, two physicians are mentioned. The one whose name is not given was probably Afinius, with whom Gillis was inclined to quarrel on account of his relations with Erasmus. See Epistles 678, 679. The other was Clavus, a physician residing at Ghent (see p. 34), of whom Erasmus appears to have written an unfavourable opinion, but under whose treatment Gillis was nevertheless feeling better.

EPISTLE 650. Deventer MS.; C. 1634 (190).

Peter Gillis to Erasmus.

Cordatus has delivered to me your sweet letter, which has been a great comfort to me. The want of a safe messenger has prevented your receiving the blanket and sheet earlier. Your reminder about the children of the sainted parents has come to one who had not forgotten them. As to the physician, I will do as you bid me, but shall not be quite contented without pulling his ears.

I am very sorry, that Tunstall has been ill. When I feel I have a little strength, I shall fly to you. I am inclined to agree with what you write about Clavus, nevertheless I am now beginning somehow or other to get better. Thank you, my Erasmus, for promising to do so much for me; I wish I could return your kindness.

That one-eyed fellow has gone off under favorable auspices * for England, taking the pictures with him ; and if More is at Calais, he is already in possession of our likenesses. Do take care of your own health, my Erasmus.

Antwerp, 27 September, 1517.†

The following letter from Pirckheimer to Erasmus may be safely attributed to the period we have now reached. Some remarks upon its date will be found at the end of the Epistle.

EPISTLE 651. Farrago, p. 65 ; Epist. iv. 12 ; C. 218 (226).

Wilibald Pirckheimer to Erasmus.

Most distinguished Sir, you have gratified, not me only, but many other of your friends by letting me know, how you are in health,—what doing, and in what locality. We are pleased, in the first place, to hear, that you stand high in the estimation of such great kings, while we are grieved to see that their affection remains so long without any practical result ; since the finest phrases make no one richer, and the whole merit of virtue consists in action ! I am well acquainted myself with the service of Princes, having lived long at Court, and been very rich in promises ; yet if I depended upon them for my subsistence, I should be often forced to employ a good set of teeth, as they say, upon a poor meal. It generally happens however, that the persons who most deserve success fail to obtain it. But why should

* *faustis avibus*. The two portraits, in one picture, of Erasmus and Gillis painted by Quentin Matsys, and intended for a present to More, had been sent to Calais, on their way to England, by the one-eyed courier. See p. 41, and vol. ii. pp. 558, 559.

† Antuerpia 27. Septembris, Anno 1517. C.

I say 'fail,' when more often those, who are classed as unlucky, are the most fortunate of all, though they may be the least rich? Is there anyone, for example, more fortunate than you, who have not gained praise for yourself by any external advantages, but so excel in merit and learning, that you are not only most illustrious in life, but seem, even while living, to have put on immortality? But enough of this, as I have no wish to appear a flatterer!

I was gratified to find, that you have not been altogether displeased with my trifling compositions; but am much more gratified, when you so sincerely and candidly point out what you disapprove; as I am sure, you would not do that, unless you had a liking,—and a strong liking,—for me, and wished my productions to be absolutely faultless. But you are aware, that no one was ever without an excuse, and how ingenious everybody is in his own defence. Therefore, not to appear to be the only person unconcerned in such circumstances, I will ask you to give a kind hearing to my apology. I do not mean to put forward the old song,—that I am a person involved in a variety of business, both public and private, and having been induced to write rather by a sort of eagerness than by any rational consideration, have published in haste what I had so written. This might have been promptly met by Cato's answer: you might very well, if you chose, have held your tongue! * * * It was my intention to demonstrate, that the *Reuchlino-mastiges*† were not only dishonest, but quite ignorant and barbarous, and after the fashion of Lucian to show, as if through a veil, how deficient they were in learning. I afterwards made up my mind to strike out that digression; which nevertheless, upon the reclamation of my friends, and against my own wish, has been left intact, although I predicted, myself, that it would

† I presume that the title *Reuchlinomastix* (Scourge of Reuchlin) had been given to one of the pamphlets directed against him.

appear to be rather introduced for ostentation of cleverness or learning, than to belong to the subject in hand.

What is done cannot be undone ; but it has brought this satisfaction with it, that it has given rise to your most friendly admonition, which was far more agreeable to me than if you had sent me word, that you approved of the whole work. For it is quite evident that you have paid some attention to what I have written, and take no little interest in my credit ; by which proceeding you show yourself a true friend and well-wisher ; and if I were able at any time to do you a like turn, I would do it, not as an act of kindness, but to please myself by a service offered to a person of all living men most obliging and worthy of regard.

As to the Reuchlino-Zoili I write nothing, as nothing could be added to what you have so eloquently and truly written. We may therefore bid good-bye to them ! I hear that they are setting some scheme in motion against me by means of their idol, but whatever it may be, it will not affect me much ; I have been so long before the public, that I have learned not only to bear insults and calumnies patiently, but to laugh at them. But listen, I beseech you, to what these villains have been doing. When they had attacked Reuchlin from every side, they did at last what I always feared they might do ; by some underhand proceedings they excited his Sovereign's displeasure against him. This I fear may entirely ruin him, and that God only can save him from the Tyrant's jaws. See, my Erasmus, what Iniquity will venture to do, especially in the case of those men, who swallow down the people's sins,* and reckon that they have themselves the right of closing and opening Heaven !

Your New Testament is greedily looked for ; and not less your Paraphrase of the great Paul. But we are too exacting,—when you put so much before us, and we are daily

* *populi devorant peccata.*

asking for more. It is yourself, that are to blame, always tempting us on, and never exhausting our appetite; or rather, to tell the truth, it is our greed that makes us insatiable.

I have read your *Apologia* with some sorrow, not because you reply to a feigned friend with feigned words,* but because I am afraid of more serious troubles arising out of it; although I consider that you were compelled for many reasons to meet your adversary with some spirit. It is allowable upon occasion, or even necessary, to speak with warmth, if we would have a peace, which we cannot obtain without war.

Farewell, most erudite Erasmus, and very well! Love me, as you do; there is nothing that can give me more pleasure. I hope I may some time or other see you in person, and that it may come into your head to pay me a visit. You shall not have cause to repent it; and it will be done without difficulty, if you have occasion at any time to go to Basel. You will then be assured of my kindness, not by words but by the thing itself; and if your reception falls short of your deserts, we shall at any rate do our best.

Nuremberg, [30 September] 1517.

In the *Farrago Epistolarum*, in which the above letter was first printed, and in later republications of it, the date assigned to it is *pridie Cal. Jan. Anno M.D. xvii.* (31 Dec. 1517). But this month-date is not confirmed by the contents of the letter, from which it appears that, while the *Apologia ad Fabrum* (published in August, 1517) had been already read by Pirckheimer, the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles (published in November of the same year) was shortly expected. With these indications to guide us, the letter may be safely assigned to the month of September or October, 1517. Probably in correction of the above date we may read, *pridie Cal. Oct. Anno M.D. xvii.* With this date (the last day of the month) we close a chapter in which it has been proposed to give an account of the Epistles of the latter half of September, 1517.

* *amico ficto fictis respondes verbis.* I have some doubt about the word *fictis*, whether we have the right reading.

CHAPTER XLII.

Continued Residence at Louvain, October, 1517. Letters of Erasmus to the Bishop of Utrecht, Busleiden, Lachner, Peter Gillis, Budé and others; Letters of More to Gillis and Erasmus. Epistles 652 to 665.

In the Treatise or so-called 'Declamation,' entitled the *Complaint of Peace*,* which was addressed by Erasmus to Philip of Burgundy, lately appointed Bishop of Utrecht, the author, speaking in the name of Peace herself, urges those considerations, which in his days were of so little avail to curb the warlike tendencies of princes and nobles, brought up to make the arts of war their main concern. Erasmus appears to have witnessed with regret the disinclination shown by the nobility of the Court of Brabant to welcome a peace with France. We have no evidence of the date of day when the dedicatory address, here introduced as Epistle 652, was written, but a copy on vellum of the Treatise or Declamation, with this introductory letter prefixed, appears to have been forwarded to the Bishop through his Secretary, Gerard of Nimeguen, on the 3rd of October, 1517; see Epistle 653. It will be remembered, that Erasmus had been himself ordained, 25 April, 1494 (see vol. i. p. 85), by David, Bishop of Utrecht, the brother and distant predecessor of the personage to whom this Epistle is addressed, both bishops being bastard sons of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.

EPISTLE 652. *Querela Pacis, Præf. Basileæ, 1517;*
C. iv. 626.

Erasmus to Philip, Bishop of Utrecht.

In addressing a Prelate not less distinguished by personal accomplishments than by a ducal ancestry, I might venture

* *Querela Pacis undique gentium ejectæ profligatæque*, printed at Basel with the date, *Basileæ mense Decembri, 1517.*

to congratulate you on your preferment to so high an office, if I were not aware, how unwillingly you have undertaken it, and with what reluctance you have made this concession to the authority of Prince Charles,—ready as you are on any other occasion to yield everything to your affection for him. The circumstances of your appointment inspire us with the utmost confidence, that you will laudably fulfil the duties you have undertaken, when we remember that Plato, a person of the most refined and almost superhuman judgment, esteems no others to be fit for governing a State, but those who, against their own wish, are induced to undertake the duty.

Our confidence in your success is increased, when we call to mind the brother whose successor you are, and the father from whom you are both derived. Your brother, David, a man at once prudent and learned, did for many years so hold that position as to add no little splendour and dignity to an office in itself most illustrious. He was indeed a personage for many reasons worthy of reverence, but above all a most salutary public councillor, in that he thought no object more important than the maintenance of Peace. In this respect, as well as others, he recalled to memory his father, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, a man of the highest distinction in every way, but especially eminent in the arts of Peace, and so commended to the memory of mankind. The same model may be all the more closely followed by you, as the correspondence will not only be that of son to father, but of Philip to Philip. Your prudence is already well aware, what the whole nation expects of you. A triple burden is thrown upon your shoulders by your father's example, and by your brother's, and also by the fatality of these times (for how else shall we call it?), which, I know not how, draws towards war. We have ourselves lately seen, how some people, more mischievous to friends than to foes, have left no stone unturned, that the fighting might

not come to an end, and how others, who have a sincere regard for the public and for the Prince, have with great difficulty brought it about, that we should welcome a peace with France, an object at all times desirable and in these days even necessary. It is the indignation which I have felt on this occasion, that has moved me to put in writing the Complaint of Peace everywhere discomfited, hoping in this way either to appease or to avenge my own most righteous sorrow. I am sending the little book to you, as an offering of first-fruits due to a new Bishop, in the hope that your Highness will do your best to guard the Peace, however it may have come into being, when I do not allow you to forget what pains it has cost us to obtain it. Farewell.

[Louvain, 3 October, 1517]. *

The following letter to Gerard of Nimeguen (Gerardus Noviomagus), the Secretary of the Bishop of Utrecht, appears to have been sent to Gerard with a special copy of Erasmus's *Complaint of Peace*, and of the preceding letter (Epistle 652), addressed to the Prelate himself. It is interesting to observe, that the presentation copy of this work, which, printed as a small quarto pamphlet, fills some fifty pages, was a manuscript on vellum. The author may have thought with some reason, that his patron was more likely to appreciate the beauty of a fairly written and handsomely bound volume than to read through the eloquent and somewhat lengthy arguments in a learned language, which it contained. It is also worth while to observe, that in these early years of printed books a handsome manuscript copy was still more highly prized.

EPISTLE 653. Deventer MS. ; C. 1634 (191).

Erasmus to Gerardus Noviomagus.

I am delighted to hear that your illustrious Prince is so kindly disposed towards us, for the simple reason, that it is

* See, as to this date, the following Epistle.

a pleasure to have our love returned by a person, whom we regard with the utmost affection and respect.

I am now entirely occupied with the New Testament, which has very nearly deprived me, not only of eye-sight, but of life itself. I consequently do not want our most Reverend Lord to summon me come to him for some months,—until I have finished the task on which I am engaged.

I send the Complaint of Peace, written out on parchment,—a poor present if regard is had to the dignity of him to whom it is sent ; but I well know what his kindness is, and your commendation,—I am sure,—will not be wanting.

Farewell, most learned and no less kind friend.

From Louvain in haste, 3 October, 1517.

The picture in which Quentin Matsys had painted the portraits of Erasmus and Peter Gillis together (see vol ii. p. 585), appears to have been sent to More at Calais ; from which place the following letter,—accompanied by two short Latin poems,—was addressed to Antwerp.

EPISTLE 654. *Auctarium*, p. 142; Ep. iii. 7 ; C. 1635 (192).

Thomas More to Peter Gillis.

My dearest Peter, I do sadly long to know whether you are better in health, a question which interests me quite as much as anything that concerns myself. I therefore make careful enquiries, and listen anxiously to whatever anyone has to tell. Several people have brought more hopeful intelligence, which I trust is well-founded, and not merely invented to meet my wishes.

I have written a letter addressed to our friend Erasmus, which I send you open. You will seal it for me yourself ; what is written to him need not be closed to you. I send

you also a copy of some verses I have written on the picture, which are as unskilfully composed as that is skilfully painted. If you think them worth it, show them to Erasmus ; if not, make them an offering to Vulcan.

Verses upon a double portrait, in which Erasmus and Peter Gillis are painted together by that famous artist, Quentin, Erasmus being represented as beginning his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, with books at his side bearing their proper titles, and Peter holding a letter addressed to him in More's handwriting, which is imitated by the painter.

Two copies of verses follow, as below. In one of these *Tabella loquitur*,—the Picture speaks three elegiac couplets ; and in the other More speaks in his own person twenty-six *hendecasyllabos*. Then follows a postscript, p. 93.

The Picture speaks.

As Castor was to Pollux, so are here
Gilles and Erasmus,—each to other dear.
More, joined to both in love, regrets that he
Is severed from them in locality.
To soothe his longing heart, their mental graces
A loving scroll recalls, and I their faces.

More speaks in person.

Thou that regard'st this picture, and but once
Hast seen the men portrayed, wilt recognize
Their features at a glance. If thou hast not,
The name of one is taught thee by the letter
To him addressed ; the other for thine ease
Writes his own name, though if he wrote it not,
Thou well may'st guess it from the books that stand

Beside him,—with its title each inscribed,—
Books that are read by all the studious world.

Quentin, restorer of an ancient art,
Rival of great Apelles, nor less skilled
To impart with wondrous colours a feigned life
To forms inanimate, when thou portrayest
So perfectly, with so great pains, such men
As ancient Times could rarely show, our Times
More rarely, and a future Day perchance
Shall seek in vain,—ah ! wherefore hast thou chosen
To trace their images on fragile wood,
That should be fixed on substance durable
To guard them from the ravages of Time ?
Thus might'st thou have both made thy fame more sure,
And gratified the eyes of future men.
For, if a distant age have any care
For Art or Letters, nor Minerva's light
Be quenched by hateful Mars, at what a cost
Posterity this panel may redeem !

My dear Peter, our Quentin has not only marvellously imitated all the objects he has depicted, but has also shown his ability to be, if he pleased, a most skilful forger, having copied the address of my letter to you in such a way that I could not write it myself so like again. Therefore, unless he wants to keep the letter for any purpose of his own, or you for any purpose of yours, please send it back to me ; it will double the marvel, if it is put by the side of the picture. If it has been destroyed, or if you have any use for it, I will try to copy again the imitator of my own hand.

Farewell with your charming wife.

[Calais], 6 October, [1517].

The above letter of More to Gillis, acknowledging the receipt at Calais of the united portraits of his correspondent and of Erasmus,

was published in the *Auctarium Epistolarum* in 1518, and there dated *sexto Octobris*, without year. When written and despatched from Calais, it was accompanied by the following letter, addressed by the writer to Erasmus himself, which treats of the same subject and was intended to be read by Gillis and forwarded by him to Louvain. See p. 91. The latter epistle was not published in the lifetime of Erasmus, but is preserved in the Deventer Manuscript, and printed in Le Clerc's Edition of these Epistles, where it bears date the 7th of October, the day after that of the letter addressed to Gillis.

EPISTLE 655. Deventer MS.; C. 1635 (193).

More to Erasmus.

Peter Cocles* has at last, my dearest Erasmus, brought me your and Gillis's long solicited portraits. How delighted I am with them, it is more easy for any one to imagine from what his own feeling in such a case would be, than for me to say. For who could either explain in words, or fail to conceive in thought, how I am ravished, when the features of friends,—whose likeness sketched in chalk or charcoal might delight any one not dead to all sense of learning or of virtue,—are brought before me delineated and expressed with such skill as to challenge all the painters of antiquity, and appear to the spectator more like sculpture than painting, so distinctly do they stand out in relief in the true proportions of the human form.

You cannot believe, most amiable Erasmus,† how much my love for you, to which I was quite sure no addition could possibly be made, has been increased by the pains you have taken to bind us still closer together, or how triumphant I feel in being so high in your esteem, that you should show

* Peter the one-eyed courier, called *Cocles* by Erasmus (see vol. ii. p. 298), was employed to carry to Calais the portraits painted by Quentin Matsys.

† Erasme mi *ερασμούραε*. See vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

by such an unwonted keepsake, that there is no one else, whose love you prefer to mine; for that is the clear interpretation,—presumptuous as it may seem,—which I put upon the fact, that an object has been sent from you to me, by which your memory may be renewed in my mind not only from day to day but from hour to hour.

I have been so much under your observation, that no great pains are needed to satisfy you, that though I am not clear of other follies, I am at any rate free from the weaknesses of a Thraso. And yet, to confess the truth, I cannot get rid of a prurient feeling of vanity, which gives me a subtle pleasure, when it occurs to my mind, that I shall be commended to a distant posterity by the friendship of Erasmus, demonstrated as that will be by letters, by books, by pictures, and indeed in every possible way!

Would that it were in my power to show by some signal proof, that I have been not unworthy of the love of such a man; but as it is far above my mediocrity by any act of mine to make the world understand that, I shall at any rate endeavour by your testimony alone to be acquitted of ingratitude.

I have read your *Apology* with much interest from beginning to end. It has made this impression upon me, that while in no other work I have been more aware of your eloquence, in none have I less admired it, my admiration being checked by observing, that in so easy a cause any one might be fluent, while *you* can obtain an easy success in the hardest controversy. * * *

I have sent off your clerk to England, and supplied him with ten groats for journey money.† I have also given Peter a noble, which for bringing that picture was a very poor payment; but he appeared satisfied!

† *Scriptorem tuum dimisi in Angliam datis grossis decem in viaticum.* This may be taken as referring to John Frieslander. See pp. 70, 71.

I do hope, that the present you have sent the Prince, 'On the education of a Prince,' * will turn out happily and advantageously for you.

I was much affected by Busleiden's death,—a person of no ordinary learning, kindly disposed to every one, and especially loving to me.

I am under such strict orders to abide here till the beginning of November,† that I had some difficulty in getting leave of absence for two days to run over to the town of St. Omer; my chief object being to see the Abbot of St. Bertin, whom you had so long ago described to me. I found him quite answering your description, and was hospitably invited and entertained by him,—a very kindly old man, who seemed to grow young again, as he called you to mind.‡ Farewell, dearest Erasmus.

Tunstall has gone back to England. Farewell again.

Calais, 7 October, 1517.§

The first clause in the following letter, Epistle 656,—which was published by Erasmus or his editor two years later in the *Farrago Epistolarum*,—refers to the somewhat singular relations existing between Erasmus and Henricus Afinius, a wealthy physician of Antwerp, who some months before had for a special purpose of his own obtained an introduction to him through Gillis (see Epistle 504, vol. ii. p. 467), and who appears at this time to have been ambitious of being publicly recognized as one of his friends and patrons. He probably hoped that Erasmus would make his name favourably known to the world by dedicating to him one of the works which he was preparing

* Erasmus's Treatise, entitled *Institutio Principis Christiani*, dedicated to Prince Charles, grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, was printed by Froben at Basel, and by Theodore Marten at Louvain, several times in 1516.

† *Mihi adeo hic desidendum est in principium Septembris. C.* I have ventured to read *Novembris*. More writes in October and does not appear in fact to have returned to England until November.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 27, 92, 291.

§ *Iterum Vale. Caletio 7. Octobris, Anno 1517. C.*

for publication ; and with this object in view the doctor had made a purchase of some silver cups, which he appears to have intended to present to the author in return for such a public manifestation of respect. Peter Gillis, who was watching without any sympathy the tactics of his neighbour, for whose pretension to an acquaintance with Erasmus he was himself responsible, appears to have suggested to him, that, if he honestly wished to make such a present, he should at once send his cups to Louvain, without waiting for any further attention from Erasmus, and to have been unreasonably angry when he found Afinius not disposed to part with the cups upon such terms. The following letter of Erasmus was evidently written in answer to some communication of Gillis, in which he had expressed without reserve his irritation at the conduct of his neighbour.

EPISTLE 656. Farrago, p. 192 ; Ep. vii. 29 ; C. 382 (368).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

How I wish you could overcome that irritability of temper, which is both injurious to your health, and is so far from being of any service in the despatch of business that it is a serious impediment to it. What was the use of being so angry with the doctor ? I knew he would give nothing ; only it was amusing to play out the play. Now, if he throws off all reserve, there will not be a particle of hope, and he will begin to be an open enemy. Whereas, if there had ever been any hope, I would rather be deprived of a hundred cups than that you should for a moment give way to passion. Take my word for it, unless you keep clear of those two things, loss of temper and the temptation arising from your recent marriage, I do not like to say what I fear for you ! Therefore I beseech you most earnestly, let every consideration give way to that of your health.

What I wrote about my coming at Christmas was for the sake of the doctor, and not meant in earnest ; so that *you*

have no occasion to hope,—and your wife has no need to fear! For I am quite determined not to leave this place until I have completed what I have in hand. The Paraphrase which I was beginning in the picture* is already finished, and is being printed.

John Borssele is here, a member of this college,† and a most pleasant companion. I wish you were free to spend the whole winter with us, and to bid those affairs, which are a useless torment to you, go to the devil.

I am pleased with More's verses.‡

There is a certain Matthew, a Hebrew, that has put in here, with an extraordinary knowledge of his proper language. I am in hopes that he may have a salary decreed him out of Busleiden's legacy.§

If you love me, let nothing interfere with the recovery of your health. Your sickness is in a very great measure dependent on your mental condition.

If you conveniently can, send for Francis, and see whether he is willing,—or not,—to do what Lachner writes. But speak to him gently,—so that, if he is not willing, I may pursue my object in some other way, as I do not intend to let them impose upon me with impunity.

* In the portrait of Erasmus by Matsys he was represented as occupied with his Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. See p. 92. This work appears to have been first printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain, and to have been ready for publication in November, 1517.

† It appears from a former letter (Epistle 638) that Erasmus's residence at Louvain was at the institution called *Collegium Liliense*.

‡ See Epistle 654, pp. 92, 93.

§ This candidate for the Hebrew professorship is called in other letters Adrian and Matthew Adrian, and is described as a Jewish physician, who had become a Christian convert. See Epistles 658, 660, 661, 662, 663. There seems to be nothing to identify him with the young Hebrew teacher sent from Liège by Berselius on the 17th of September. See p. 75.

If Linacre's *Galen* has been imported from Paris, pray buy it. Farewell, with all your family, sweetest of friends.

[Louvain, October, 1517.] *

The following letter from Erasmus to Wolfgang Lachner, the father-in-law and partner of Froben, may serve in some slight degree to throw light on the relations of Erasmus with his booksellers. It is dated in Le Clerc's edition,—and I presume in the Deventer Manuscript, from which it is taken,—Lovanio, Anno 1517; and it appears from its contents to belong to the latter part of that year, probably to the month of October. Erasmus had sent his *Apologia* and the second part of Gaza's Greek Grammar to Basel from 'the last Fair,' we may presume, the Frankfort fair of September, 1517.

EPISTLE 657. Deventer MS. ; C. 1655 (237).

Erasmus to Wolfgang Lachner.

There is no occasion for you to remind me of our friendship. It is not my practice to withdraw readily from that relation, neither is there any occasion in your case for me to wish to do so. I only wanted you to employ some one that knows something about the business, to make an estimate of the copies. Not that I wish to extort any great sum from you, but that, having once got some distinct account in writing, we may be both of us free; and whatever conclusion you had come to would have been welcome. In the *Adages* there has been no great addition of written matter;

* We may infer from the last words, that this letter, which has no date of day or month in *Farrago*, was written before Erasmus had heard that Gillis's father, who died in the second week of November, 1517 (see Epistle 685), was seriously ill; see Epistle 672, dated 3 November, 1517. And we may infer on the other hand from an earlier paragraph, that it was written, when the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans was already in the Press.

but there has been nevertheless no little labour ; and this is a thing, of which Froben,—excellent person as he is, and much as I like him,—is quite incapable of taking account.

I have not yet received anything from Francis. I had written to say, that Froben was not to take from my servant James any more copy than he could conveniently print, and he took everything. Beside this, he has not given me any answer that was to the purpose, nor you either. Whatever I have put into your hands up to this time, I have not allowed to be printed by anybody else, so far as I could help it, and shall not do so.

At the last Fair I sent you my version of Theodore Gaza's Second Book, and also my *Apologia* ; * I suppose they have been delivered to you. You will advise your corrector to learn a little more Greek, and to be ready to listen to those who are more learned than himself.† It is incredible what a nuisance a too self-satisfied corrector is ; your press is now in general esteem, and its reputation ought to be maintained. I do not want More's writings to be separated from my Colloquies, but to remain united‡ as they have hitherto been. Farewell.

Louvain, 1517. §

In the following letter Erasmus reports to Giles Busleiden, the arrival at Louvain of Matthew Adrian, who appears to the writer to be an extremely suitable candidate for the office of Hebrew professor at the University, under the foundation of his correspondent's late brother, Jerome. The same subject has been already mentioned by Erasmus in Epistle 656, addressed to Peter Gillis. See p. 98.

* See Epistles 607, 611, pp. 16, 23.

† Erasmus had probably in view the assistance of Beatus Rhenanus. See vol. ii. p. 548.

‡ *Opuscula Mori nolim a meis dialogis separari sed manere conjuncta.*

§ Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 658. Auctarium, p. 207 ; Ep. iii. 40 ;
C. 353 (338).

Erasmus to Giles Busleiden.

No complaints or tears can alter destiny. But we may hope, that what is due to posterity and to the memory and glory of your honoured brother, Jerome Busleiden, may be as successful to the end as in one respect it has certainly been lucky at the beginning. Just at the right moment a physician named Adrian has arrived here, a Hebrew by race, but for some time a Christian by religion, and so proficient in the entire Hebrew literature, that I think our age scarcely possesses any other that can be compared with him. And if my judgment upon this subject has not weight enough with you, the same testimony is borne by all the persons I know in Germany or Italy who are conversant with this tongue. He had not only a complete familiarity with the language, but is most accurately versed in the obscurest passages of the Hebrew authors, and has all their books at his fingers' ends. It is the same person, that was mentioned to you at Brussels by Ludovicus Vacus. I have explained his merits to the theologians, and should not hesitate to undertake at my own risk, that he is the one person of this age, upon whom all our wishes may rest ; and now that some propitious deity has put him in our way without our seeking, it seems to be our business by all means to retain him. It is no special concern of mine ; but I have an unbounded regard for the memory of a most generous patron and incomparable friend ; I have also a regard for the general advancement of our age, for which with all the strength that has been given me, I have myself expended and still expend so many hours of nightly labour. The man is already here by the advice of the above-

named Ludovicus. Give your commands to Erasmus, if you think I can be of any use. Farewell.

Louvain, the morrow of St. Luke, 19 Oct. [1517].*

With Epistle 659 More appears to have forwarded to Erasmus a letter addressed by Wentford to More, which the latter had opened and found to be intended for Erasmus. This letter does not seem to have been preserved. Roger Wentford was an old friend of Erasmus, Master in 1506 of St. Antony's School in London. See vol. i. p. 415.

EPISTLE 659. Deventer MS. ; C. 589 (540).

Thomas More to Erasmus.

I have received, my Erasmus, a letter from Wentford, which I am sending on to you at once by the messenger who had brought it ; you will easily gather from it, that our correspondent still retains his old character. I will not beg your pardon for opening a letter of yours, as you see that the letter written to you is addressed to me, and I do not doubt that by the same blunder the one addressed to you is written to me ; and so eager am I to read it, that I do not care to break the seal ! If you see anything in it that you think I should wish to know,—which I do not at all suppose to be the case,—send me word.

I presume my letter has reached you,† wherein I informed you of the picture having been received, for which again, and a thousand times again, I return you thanks.

I have not heard anything more of your Peter, since he went to England. I do hope that your present, truly worthy of a king,‡ will win for you something good in return. May

* Louanio Postridie Lucae. *Auctarium*. 18 Octobris, Anno 1518. C.

† Epistle 655.

‡ See about Erasmus's present to Henry VIII. Epistle 627, pp. 45-48.

the autocrat's injunction * turn out to your advantage. He himself succeeds in nothing, or rather, by Heavens, in every thing !

I approve of your plan in not wishing to be involved in the busy trifles of Princes ; and you show your love for me by desiring that I may be disentangled from such matters, in which you can scarcely believe how unwillingly I am engaged. Nothing indeed can be more hateful to me than my present mission. I am sent to stay at a little seaport, with a disagreeable soil and climate ; and whereas at home I have naturally the greatest abhorrence of litigation, even when it brings me profit, you may imagine what annoyance it must cause one here, when it comes accompanied with loss. But my lord † kindly promises that the King shall reimburse the whole ; when I receive it, I will let you know ! Keep your health meantime ; that is perhaps all you wish.‡ Give my greeting to Edward Lee, and to our friend Palgrave, if he is returned. Farewell.

Calais, 25 Oct. [1517].§

In Epistle 660 Erasmus writes a few lines to Budé, dated 26 October, 1517, in order to challenge a letter from him, and to send him the last news from Louvain.

* *Quod injunxit αὐτοκράτωρ*. I presume the Emperor Maximilian is meant. The observation on his success may refer to his crooked diplomacy, by which he had succeeded in obtaining funds from the English Court in order to come to Flanders for the purpose of opposing the friendly treaty between his grandson and the French King, to which he himself became a party.

† *Dominus*, my lord Cardinal, we may presume.

‡ Interim vale, tu fortassis ultro non optas. C. I do not follow the meaning of this. Reading, as I have done, *ultra* for *ultro*, we still leave the sense somewhat obscure. But More may mean,—in his jesting way,—that if Erasmus retains his health until he, More, is repaid his expenses, there need be no fear on the former account.

§ Caletō, 25 Octobris, Anno 1520. C. The true year-date is shown by the date of place.

Epistle 660. Deventer MS. ; C. 1637 (195).

Erasmus to Budé.

What is the meaning, my Budé, of so sudden a silence, when a short time ago you were pelting me, not with letters, but with volumes? What a fuss there was then about the King and about the Bishop; and now, not a whisper!* I am longing to hear what strange thing is breeding.†

Then again, you had sent me such a challenge, that I ventured to write to Master Deloin.‡ If he has taken offence at our letter, the fault is in a great measure yours; but he neither sends any answer himself, nor do you in his name.

Tunstall, after suffering so long and so severely from the climate of Zealand,—having caught a fever, lost his chief servant at Bruges, and left two others behind him seriously ill,—has now gone back to England. Do write now and then to him; believe me, he is the sincerest of men, and no one has a higher regard for you. More has some commission to execute for his king, at Calais.

Jerome Busleiden, who was on his way to Spain in company with our Chancellor, has died in Gascony, having by his will founded a College at Louvain for instruction in the three languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and a Hebrew is now here, who is generally esteemed to be the most learned of this age; his name is Matthew Adrian.§ A Greek

* *Περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου* quanti pridem tumultus, nunc οὐδὲ γρῦ.

† *quid monstri alatur.*

‡ *domino Deloino.* The title *dominus* may be taken here as equivalent to *doctor* or *magister*. See note, p. 5.

§ See Epistle 656, p. 98, note.

must be fetched from elsewhere. Farewell, and relieve your conscience.*

Louvain, 26 October, 1517.

Epistle 661, addressed to Glarean without date of day, was expressly written in answer to Epistle 592, dated 5 August, 1517. See vol. ii. p. 602. It appears from allusions in it, that Glarean had at Paris a class of pupils,—his *grex* as Erasmus calls them,—and also that he had some allowance from the French King. This letter may well have been written in the latter part of October, and sent to Paris with the letter to Budé,—perhaps by a Government courier, when an opportunity occurred,—Erasmus being himself a Councillor in the Court of Brabant.

EPISTLE 661. Deventer MS. ; C. 1654 (234).

Erasmus to Glarean.

To answer in a few lines the one letter which I have received from you, written at Paris on the 5th of August, I am glad you have moved your quarters to France, and pray that it may turn out well. You will like Paris all the better, when you are more used to it. As for this place, it is charming, though the profit is meagre indeed ; but if your salary from the King, could travel with you, I should very much like you to come here yourself.

Jerome Busleiden, whose name you may read among my translations of Lucian's Dialogues,† has founded by his will,—for he died in his journey to Spain,—a College here at Louvain, in which the three tongues, Greek, Latin and

* *Animum scrupulo libera.* The writer, I presume, means to say : do not forget to send the letter you owe me.

† See *Erasmi Opera*, vol. i. p. 311.

Hebrew, are to be taught; a respectable stipend being provided, which is to go on for ever. Matthew, a person most learned in Hebrew Literature, who taught our Wolfgang, is now already here; and some *Græculus* will be sent for. If you were here, you might be amused to find Erasmus, sitting day after day sublime among our Doctors! Do at any rate, most learned Glarean, pay us frequent visits by letter.

We have been sending a number of things to Basel to be printed; * and my Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans is in the press here,—a work of more labour than is seen on the face of it. We have revised a good deal of our New Testament, and have so revised it, that it will be a different work. Do let me know in return, what your Muses are about. Budé, as I understand by his letter, did not discover who you were. The sheet of paper in which you commented upon some passages in the New Testament, has been lost; if the memoranda are still extant in your own copy, do let me have your notes again.

Farewell, most honeyed friend, with all your flock.† As to Faber, what is the use of my grumbling? You have doubtless by this time seen my *Apologia*. May I die if I ever did anything so reluctantly,—as I really love the man! What evil genius put such a thing into his head! Farewell again.

Louvain, October, 1517.

It appears by the last clause of the following letter, that Lupset had returned to England before Erasmus answered his letter of the 15th of September, Epistle 636.

* It will be remembered that Erasmus had made the acquaintance of Glarean at Basel. See vol. ii. p. 246.

† cum grege tuo. Glarean had some pupils,—his *grex*,—who had made bold to send their greeting to Erasmus. See vol. ii. p. 603.

EPISTLE 662. Deventer MS. ; C. 1638 (196).

Erasmus to Lupset.

How, I beseech you, did you come to think that I was angry with you ? Was it because I wrote you such a loving admonition ? For as to my not having written, it was rather you who were out of humour, as you sent no answer to the last letter I wrote. I have received from More the short Declamation, and something else besides.* He pleaded your cause most lovingly, though there was no occasion to do so, as of my own accord I am quite disposed to love you, and will not allow myself to be surpassed in that. I have not yet received from More the Appendix of the Copia ; please get it returned to me, if you can only do so. I wrote to Bade to let you know, that I want you to get Linacre's version of Galen sent to me,—I do not mean as a present, but to be bought at my expense.

I wish you would make your way to us here.† Busleiden has founded a College, in which there are to be three excellent Professors of the Three Tongues ; and a choicely learned Hebrew, named Matthew, is already here. Farewell and present my salutation to your parents.

Louvain, 26 October, 1517.‡

The above year-date, which is not part of the original letter, but is added in Le Clerc's edition, is confirmed by the mention of Jerome Busleiden's foundation. His will is said to be dated, 22 June, 1517.§

* et præterea nescio quid. The draft of the *Julius Exclusus*, which the writer does not care to name. See More's letter of 15 December, 1516, Epistle 489, vol. ii. p. 447.

† Utinam huc ad te conferas. Apparently either *ad* should be omitted, or *nos* added after it.

‡ Lov. 7 Cal. Novemb. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 26 Octobris, Anno 1517. C.

§ I take this date from Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 380.

Erasmus appears to have sent Matthew Adrian, his candidate for the Hebrew professorship at Louvain (see before, pp. 98, 101, 106), —with an introduction from himself,—to Giles Busleiden, who was taking the principal part in carrying out the arrangements for the Trilingual College, to be founded at Louvain under his late brother's will, and by whom Erasmus's choice of a Professor appears to have been approved.

EPISTLE 663. Deventer MS.; C. 1653 (232).

Erasmus to Giles Busleiden.

I should be thanking you, most distinguished Sir, for your kind reception of my Hebrew, if I were not more disposed to congratulate you, upon so desirable a person having,—without any seeking of ours,—offered himself for this business, which will, beyond all doubt, be productive of undying glory to the whole race of Busleiden, and will give a fresh life to all our studies, which in one way or other have been falling into decay. And there will be no lack of persons in other Universities, who will emulate this glorious institution.† I do beseech you therefore,—by the memory of the best of brothers, for the credit of the name of Busleiden, which belongs to you both, and for the common interest of all students,—not to allow yourself to be led away from what has been begun; for there are perhaps some persons, who may regard with grudging an institution which is for their own advantage, and be more disposed to turn others away from better studies, than to learn anything better themselves. In this field I have no interest of my own, either in the sowing or the harvest, and am only moved by the

† We may observe that this anticipation of Erasmus, expressed in a letter, which was not printed till a much later date, had meantime been realized in a remarkable way in England, where during the following century so many well-endowed Colleges were founded at Oxford and at Cambridge for the study of the learned tongues.

consideration of public advantage. No new scheme was ever introduced in so plausible a way, but some one has been found to cry out against it. The best men are, however, all at present in favour of this proposal, and before long every one will approve. If the plan goes on, as I hope it will, Louvain will be more and more to my taste. There is no society in which I should prefer to be a guest, and a guest at my own expense; and I venture to think, that my being here will not be without advantage to such a College; and finally, there would be none, whom I should prefer to make the heir of my library.* Matthew† has not removed his residence hither yet.

I send an Epitaph, but only to learn by an experiment, what your ideas are. Others shall be composed, as soon as I know that. Farewell.

Louvain, 1517.

This letter is followed in the Deventer Manuscript, and in the printed edition of Le Clerc, by seven lines in Trochaic metre, entitled *Carmen Trochaicum in obitum Hieronymi Buslidii*.

EPISTLE 664, dated 31 October, 1517, C. 1638 (197), was addressed to Erasmus from Paris, by Charles Ofhuys, priest, a person not otherwise known to us, whose name appears to point to a Dutch nationality. The writer had, a few days before, been taking his breakfast (*jentaculum fecerat*) in the company of Bade, with whom he had discussed the controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre. He begs his correspondent to publish his commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which he understands to have been in hand for some time.

* Erasmus was at this time so far settled at Louvain, that he proposed to himself to bequeath his library to the University there. Before his death at Basel about nineteen years later he appears to have sold the reversion of his library to a Polish gentleman, named John à Lasco. See his Will, Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 248.

† Matthew Adrian, the proposed Hebrew Professor. See p. 98.

With Epistle 665 Erasmus sent to Schürer, the printer of Strasburg, a revised and corrected copy of the work of Quintus Curtius upon the history of Alexander the Great. See Epistle 605, p. 13. This book, with some notes by Erasmus, was sent by his correspondent to press, and was ready for publication in the following June. With the same letter of Erasmus the printer also received a copy of the *Apologia ad Fabrum*, printed by Theodore Martens in the preceding August (see p. 23); and this work appears to have been not long after reprinted by Schürer, but without date of publication. In writing to Strasburg Erasmus does not forget the Literary Society. See vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.

EPISTLE 665. Deventer MS.; C. 1638 (198).

Erasmus to Schürer.

I send you Quintus, revised by me, with Index and Preface. If you like the work, do what your honour and mine require in such a case; if not, return the book to the bearer.

Farewell, and give my greeting to our friends, that is, to the whole Literary Society.*

I am sending you the Apology, by which I reply to Faber Stapulensis. I have no wish myself to have it widely circulated, unless it be to prevent anybody from supposing that there is any unfriendly contention between us,—although his attack on me was rather less than friendly. Accept it, if you please, and be like yourself.

Louvain, 31 October, 1517.

I presume, that the last three words mean, that, if Schürer thought it worth while to reprint the *Apologia*, the author expected to be treated by the bookseller with his accustomed liberality.

* See vol. ii. 159, 160.

CHAPTER XLIII.

*Continued residence at Louvain in November, 1517.
Letters of Erasmus to Glarean, Pirckheimer, Barbier,
the Bishop of Utrecht, Budé, Peter Gillis, Cæsarius,
Count Nuenar, the Duke of Bavaria, and others;
Letters of More and Banisius to Erasmus. Epistles
666 to 681.*

In the following letter, addressed, without date of day, to Henry Glarean, Erasmus refers (by the opening words) to Epistle 661, sent to the same correspondent at Paris apparently a very few days before,—probably on the 26th of October together with the writer's last letter to Budé. See p. 105. The arrival of the Hebrew professor, mentioned in both of the epistles addressed to Glarean, as having lately occurred, shows that there was not much interval between the date of the two letters, the first of which appears to have been written on or about the 26th of October, 1517. The uncertainty of communications occasionally led to a fresh letter being written for a correspondent, to whom a similar missive had been addressed shortly before.

EPISTLE 666. Deventer MS. ; C. 1655 (235).

Erasmus to Henry Glarean.

I have answered your letter a few days ago, though I am even more busy here than I used to be at Basel.

If your circumstances are such as you really like, I am heartily glad of it, and only wish it had been the will of fortune, that the salary which you have there, were here. This University is very flourishing, and Theological questions are not treated now in so thorny a fashion. By a legacy of Jerome Busleiden a College is being founded, in which a certain number of young students of languages are to be maintained, and with them three Professors, who are to teach publicly and gratuitously the three tongues, Hebrew; Greek, and Latin; and Matthew Adrian, a most learned Hebrew scholar, is already here. Farewell, and write frequently to us.

If you have not made the acquaintance of Paulus Æmilius, take pains to do so. Believe me, there is nobody more learned, or better, or more friendly to worthy persons, than that man is ! Farewell again.

Louvain, November, 1517.

Paulus Æmilius of Verona, the author of a History of France, is mentioned with respect by Erasmus in one of his letters to Budé, translated in our second volume. See vol. ii. pp. 498, 499.

On the 2nd of November, 1517, Erasmus wrote,—in answer apparently to Epistle 651,—a letter to Pirckheimer, a great part of which is filled with a violent denunciation of one of the assailants of Reuchlin, in whose defence Pirckheimer was interested, and had himself published a pamphlet. It will be seen, that this letter contains a reference to Erasmus's visit to England in the preceding spring (see vol. ii. p. 551), and to an offer of preferment received by him in this country, to which allusion is also made in Epistle 627, addressed to King Henry VIII. See before, p. 48. We are still without information about the particulars of that transaction. The letter to Pirckheimer appears to have been first printed in the Collection of Epistles, published by Petrus Scriverius in 1615 under the title, *Magni Des. Erasmi Vita* etc. See our Introduction, vol. i. pp. li, lii.

EPISTLE 667. Scriverius, p. 154; Ep. xxx. 23; C. 268 (274).

Erasmus to Wilibald Pirckheimer.

I have received the pamphlet, Illustrious Sir, together with your letter; to which I propose to reply in few words. Torn to pieces with hard work, I just remain alive; and am staying at Louvain, having been admitted into the society of the divines here, although I have not the title of Doctor in their University. This I have preferred to do, rather than accompany Prince Charles to Spain, especially when I saw the Court split up into so many factions,* as Spaniards, Maranians, Chièvres' party, French, Imperialists, Neapolitans, Sicilians,—and what not?

Last spring, when I went to England for some private business, the King, of his own accord, gave me the kindest welcome; and so did the Cardinal, who is, so to speak, a second king. Beside a handsome house, they offered me six hundred florins a year; and I thanked them in such a way as neither to accept nor refuse the terms proposed.† I am living here at a considerable cost to myself; nevertheless I am determined to stay for some months, partly to finish the work I have in hand, and partly to see what is to be the outcome of the brilliant hopes held out to me in the Prince's name at the moment of his departure by John Le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy, who, as he is most learned himself, is also a patron of all men of letters.

My New Testament, which was hurried through the press rather than edited, at Basel, I am now remodelling in such a way that it will be a different work, and I hope to finish it

* *aulam in tot sectarum [read sectam] factiones.*

† See, as to the offer here mentioned, the letter of Erasmus to King Henry VIII. (Epistle 627, p. 48.) What the office or preferment proposed for Erasmus was, does not appear.

within four months. I was much pleased with your pamphlet, and with your friendly defence of Reuchlin, in which you seem to me more fluent than usual,—I think, because, as Fabius says, your heart has made you eloquent, and not only your intellect and erudition. But I reckon, myself, that it is calamitous to carry on warfare in any way ; and further that nothing is more calamitous than to have to do with a sordid and disreputable foe. For with whom after all has Reuchlin to fight ? † It is a nest of hornets, which even the Roman Pontiff is afraid to provoke, so that Pope Alexander used to say, he thought it safer to offend the mightiest of kings, than any individual of those herds of Mendicants, who under pretext of this abject name exert a veritable tyranny over the Christian world ; though I do not think it fair to attribute to the entire Order what is committed by the fault of a few. Then again, look at the instrument employed by these false professors of true religion ; a brazen-faced creature, as to whose character there can be no mistake, and who would not be pelted with the name of Half-Jew, if he had not by his acts shown himself to be a Jew and a half. ‡ * * *

Therefore it is not only a disreputable but an empty conflict, in which learned men are engaged against such an adversary, as it is one from which, whether they conquer or are defeated, they can gain nothing but discredit. A hang-man is a more suitable person to suppress such madness. It should be the care of the Bishops, of the most righteous Emperor Maximilian, of the magistrates of the famous city of Cologne, not to foster so poisonous a viper, to the certain destruction of the Christian religion unless the antidote be provided that such a mischief requires. This I say from no

† cum quibus tandem est conflictandum Reuchline. *Read* Reuchlino.

‡ The person here described was Johann Pfefferkorn, author of a book printed at Cologne in 1517, of which we may read in Epistles 670 and 671.

private grudge ; he has never hurt me, or, if he has libelled me at all, I am not affected by it ; and the matter in question does not concern me in the least. Still I am sorry, that the concord of the Christian world should be so unworthily broken up by the impostures of one profane and unlearned Jew, and that with the aid of persons who profess to be supporters of the Christian religion.

But enough of these matters ! Not to leave your very learned pamphlet altogether without criticism, I do not quite approve of that list of Reuchlin's supporters. For where will you find a man, religious and learned, that is not on his side ? Who does not execrate that brute, unless it be one who either does not understand the matter, or seeks his personal advantage to the injury of the public ? Again, while you are scouring the field against Dialecticians and Philosophers, I should have preferred to see you give your whole attention to the matter in hand, and leave other persons and other things to take care of themselves.

Farewell, most illustrious of the learned and most learned of the illustrious !

Louvain, the morrow of All Saints (2 November), 1517.*

The following short letter is addressed in the printed copy, and, we may presume, in the Deventer manuscript, from which it appears to be derived, to Master John, no surname being given ; but we may gather from its contents, that it was written to the soldier friend for whom the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* was composed (see vol. i. pp. 337, 339), and to whose surname (here latinized *Germanus*, which we may presume to have been Deutsch in the vernacular), there is an allusion towards the end of the letter. We may conjecture from its contents, that Master John was now with the Court at Brussels ; and it appears from the first line, that Erasmus depended upon his correspondent to forward his letter, Epistle 667, to Pirckheimer. The

* Lovanio, Postridie omnium Divorum, Anno m.d. xvii.

compliments of the second paragraph have rather the air of banter, than of well-founded congratulation.

EPISTLE 668. Deventer MS.; C. 1639 (199).

*Erasmus to Master John.**

I beg you to have the enclosed letter forwarded to Nuremberg, as soon as you meet with anybody to whom you can entrust it. And pray do not let our friendship fade away.

I hear that you have been quite covered with gold by the Prince, and heartily congratulate you on it; but I am afraid you will catch the rheumatism in counting so many thousands!

The *Enchiridion* is read everywhere; and it is making many people either good, or at any rate,—we may hope,—better than they were. We ought not, my dear John, to be the only persons to allow a book, written by one of us for the sake of the other, to do *us* no good at all.

Mind you treat in German fashion this German servant of mine, who brings you my letter. Farewell, best of friends. When you come to Louvain, you shall be treated at school in schoolmaster fashion.†

Louvain, 2 November, 1517.‡

The following letter is addressed to Peter Barbier, the Secretary of the Chancellor of Burgundy, who had accompanied his chief in his journey through France to Spain, and had written a letter to one of his friends at Ghent, in which Erasmus was mentioned. See vol. ii. p. 563. In the following translation some short sentences, which were part of the original letter and omitted upon its publication, are in-

* Erasmus M. Joanni suo. C. M. stands for *Magistro*. As to this title, see p. 5.

† tractaberis in pædagogio more pædagogiali. If you come to our University, you shall be received in University fashion, as if you were a Pedagogue yourself!

‡ Lovanio 2. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

serted between daggers († . . . †). These passages are supplied in Leclerc's edition, at the end of the volume of Epistles. C. 1933, Errata to p. 270. It will be observed that the whole letter is in a familiar and affectionate strain.

EPISTLE 669. Auctarium, p. 200 ; Ep. iii. 36 ; C. 270 (275).

*Erasmus to Peter Barbier.**

I fear, my dear Peter, that your successes in Spain may make you forget your old friends ; although I had rather the event should happen so, than that it should be occasioned by any reverse. I am heartily sorry for Busleiden's death, and all the more, because I treated him so coldly before his departure. But I cannot tell you how pleased I am about his trilingual legacy ; and by good luck there is just now a Hebrew here, who appears to me,—and to others also,—to have an unparalleled knowledge of Hebrew literature. †Some of the Theologians are secretly opposing the scheme, though they promise the reverse.† But if the business is set on foot from the first on a grand scale, and with the aid of men of high reputation, it will bring a marvellous amount of credit to our country.

Marcus‡ had already sent me some money from Zealand, when your letter was delivered ; but beyond that I have received neither letters nor money. If no more is sent, I shall support the disappointment as I may, provided you are safe ; but if any accident,—which may the powers above

†† The clauses between these signs throughout this letter are in the Deventer MS. but are omitted in the printed copies. (See the observation preceding the Epistle.) We may observe that Erasmus was acting, in the practice described in the second suppressed clause (first in p. 118), in accordance with the advice given him by Tunstall in Epistle 634, pp. 62, 63.

* This Epistle ought, by its date, to have been placed at the end of the preceding chapter, but as its exact position is not of importance, it has not been thought worth while to disturb the pages already in type.

‡ See note, p. 38.

forfend,—should deprive us of Barbier, I shall be unable to bear such a multiplicity of losses. Therefore I do beseech you over and over again to take good care of your health.

We are now living at the Lilian College with the kindest of all hosts, Naef of Hontescote; † and I have now become quite *Magister noster*, taking a frequent part in all the University *Acts*. † The New Testament has been going on well, and is to be finished, with God's aid, in three months. We have replied to Lefèvre,—without anger, as far as the case admitted; I cannot cease to wonder what has come into the man's head. I sent him the pamphlet, but have not yet received any answer. His simplicity was imposed upon by the instigation of some other person; and I only wish that circumstances had admitted of my taking no notice of it. † My cause is approved by all the learned, especially by Atensis, and even by Dorpius. †

The Bishop of Utrecht has written to me to say that he will send for me as soon as he has returned from his Trans-insular flock, and will show how he values me; but I shall not dance* to his music. † The Archbishop of Mayence has also written to me most courteously in his own hand. †

The Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans is being elegantly printed. It is only right that Paul should speak to the *Romans* in tolerable Latin. This work is wonderfully approved by the learned.

I beseech you in the name of Sacred Theology, let me know how fares my most excellent Mæcenæ, ‡ in whom alone all my hopes are set. If he continues to be like himself, I shall continue to refuse all offers made from other quarters. I am still living on my own means, except the

†† See the note at the foot of the previous page.

* The clause which follows nine lines below, supplies the reason for Erasmus not wishing to appear to be a protégé of the Bishop of Utrecht.

‡ Peter Barbier's patron, the Chancellor of Burgundy.

three hundred florins, or little more, which I have received from his kindness, or that of the Prince. I do not doubt his good will, provided you refresh his memory. Do at any rate let us participate by letter in the Spanish successes, unless you grudge us even that share.

I was almost killed by a melancholy rumour, which was brought hither, that Briselot was no longer among the living; but as it is not confirmed, I think there is nothing in it. There was a similar report about the most learned Doctor Josse,* I think occasioned by Busleiden's death.

If you have not suffered in Spain some such fate as is said to have befallen Ulysses' companions, when they visited Circe,† please commend me dutifully to my one and only patron, the Chancellor, to whom I was about to write, but that stuttering boy, (I think a cousin of his wife) has let us know about the despatch of the courier scarcely half an hour before the messenger is going away.

Farewell, dearest of mortals, the better half of my soul. Salute the Prelate of Chieti in my name,‡ and also the bishop of Marli. I do not know where Guy Morillon is, but would gladly learn what he is about.

Louvain, the eve of All Saints (31 October), 1517.§

On the 2nd of November, 1517, Erasmus writes a kind and friendly letter of advice to Gerard Listrius, who appears to be still at Zwolle, where he had been living as a schoolmaster in the previous year.|| He seems at this time to have been under a false suspicion of

* Briselot and *doctissimus Doctor Jodocus*,—I presume Josse Clichtove,—were known to Erasmus, when he was with the Court at Ghent or Bruges before King Charles' departure in June, 1517. See vol. ii. pp. 574, 607.

† The companions of Ulysses were turned into swine. *Odyssey*, x. 283.

‡ John Peter Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, afterwards Pope Paul IV. See vol. ii. pp. 115, 116, 570.

§ *Lovanii, pridie Omnium Sanctorum, Anno m. d. xvii.*

|| See before, p. 55, and vol. ii. p. 279.

having invented, or spread, some malicious tale,—it does not appear against whom. Erasmus writes him a few lines of friendly encouragement. Of the book here mentioned, as published by Pfefferkorn, we shall read more in the following Epistles.

EPISTLE 670. Deventer MS. ; C. 1639 (200).

Erasmus to Listrius.

I have read with grief your sad story. But you must imitate St. Paul, who through good and ill report was still like himself. These are the changes and chances of human life, and in these scenes of tragi-comedy we pass our days ! If you listen to me, you will not stir a foot just now. Divert your mind with study ; and that rumour, which has arisen out of mischief, will soon die away of its own accord ; for who does not know, that your character is utterly averse from any malice of that sort ? Take my word for it,—Fortune will make up for this disaster by some compensating advantage. When the rumour has become still, then, if you like, you can change your locality ; and if you are inclined to go to England, I will recommend you to the great people there ; or if you want to live here, I will not fail in the duty of a friend.

I hear from learned correspondents, that Pfefferkorn from a wicked Jew has become a most wicked Christian, and has published a book in German, in which all the learned, and I among the rest, are torn to pieces with extraordinary ferocity. He is a rogue unworthy of such adversaries, and worthy only of the hangman ! The outcome of his christening has been this,—that Christian concord is disturbed by a Jew behind a mask !

Farewell, my Listrius, and give my greeting to the worthy Prior of St. Agnes.

Louvain, 2 November, 1517.*

* Lovanio. 2. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

Jacobus Banisius, to whom Epistle 671 is addressed, and from whom we have a letter in answer dated nine days later, appears to have been a person of rank, residing in one of the Adriatic provinces of Austria, and a Councillor of the Austrian Government. He had conceived a great admiration for the writings of Erasmus, and had travelled from his remote home to the Court in Flanders mainly for the purpose of becoming personally known to him. See Epistle 681. Having arrived at Antwerp when Erasmus was in that city, he appears to have called at once upon him without introduction, and consequently to have been coldly received. In the following letter Erasmus apologizes to this distinguished admirer for the poor welcome which had been given him. The latter part of the Epistle is occupied with a harsh invective against Pfefferkorn, of which a few clauses only,—and those not the most violent,—are translated.

EPISTLE 671. Deventer MS.; C. 1639 (201).

Erasmus to Jacobus Banisius.

Most distinguished Sir, I have been repeatedly on ill terms with myself for not having been more eager, when at Antwerp, to embrace the kindness which you put so plainly in my way; but I had then just escaped from the Court of Brussels, nearly killed by the tiresome interchange of visits with the Spaniards there; and so it came to pass that I shrank from meeting almost any one, whereas Banisius, with that learning of his, that ready speech, that kindness of character, might well have been courted even from a distance, not by me only, but by all the best of men. If you are now going to stay several days at Antwerp, I shall fly thither to enjoy your conversation and the very sight of you, even for a few hours,—unless indeed you are so estranged by our want of courtesy,* that you will now refuse to our request what you were the first to offer before.

* nostra humanitate: *read* inhumanitate.

I have read the little book published by Nuenar at Cologne ; and Wilibald has also sent his own pamphlet. I see a recrudescence of that war, which I had thought was extinct, or at any rate sleeping.

I hear, that that pestilent *Corn*,—sown by some clever Satan,* has published a book, in which he rages without any check against all the learned. He is misused, as an instrument, by those illustrious professors of religion, to upset the tranquillity of Christian concord. I wish he were a Jew all over, and that his circumcision extended to his tongue and both his hands! As things are now,—an Angel of Satan, taking the form of an Angel of Light,—he fights against us under our own banner, and renders the same service to his circumcised friends, as Zopyrus did to Darius, the father of Xerxes.† What else could be devised by the most wicked of the Circumcised, or by their chieftain Satan, than that Christian concord should be so torn to pieces? * * Take my word for it, if Cæsar destroyed this portent, he would do a finer thing than if he routed an army of Saracens. This enemy is raging in the inmost recesses of Christendom, and is all the more mischievous, as he is fighting against us with our own arms and within our own entrenchments.

* * * * *

Farewell, most learned Banisius.

Louvain, 3 November, 1517.‡

* pestilentissimum illud granum, quod Satanus aliquis ingeniosus serit. The person so described is Pfefferkorn, to whom there is some allusion in the letter to Pirckheimer, Epistle 667, and who is mentioned by name in the last Epistle.

† As the story is told by Herodotus, Darius had besieged Babylon for nineteen months, when Zopyrus, after mutilating himself, obtained access into the city, under pretence of taking refuge from the cruelty of Darius; and having won the confidence of the citizens, contrived to admit his countrymen into the place. Herodotus, iii. 154-158.

‡ Lovanio, 3. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

The above letter was despatched to Antwerp, where Banisius was then staying, accompanied by the following note to Peter Gillis, who was at this time watching at the death-bed of his father. A special messenger, Nicolas, was being sent by Erasmus to England. I do not think that we have any information as to his business there, which at the time was purposely kept secret.

EPISTLE 672. Farrago, p. 196 ; Ep. vii. 38 ; C. 216 (222).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Dearest Peter, I beseech you by all that is sacred to bear with fortitude the common lot of humanity. I hope your father may recover, but if anything should happen, do not let me lose two friends at once. What is the use of vain, I should rather say, pernicious sorrow ?

Warn Nicolas, in the first place to keep his errand secret, and not to give any one a hint, to whom he is going in England, or in whose name he has been sent for. And if he does not go, let him still hold his tongue, or feign any reason as far removed as possible from the true one. You will learn yourself about the matter from the Secretary's letter, and by speech of my James.

Farewell, best of friends, and show yourself a man ; or rather remember that you are human, and play out this life's play. I beg a blessing on you all, and especially on your excellent father. I have written to Banisius.

After these storms you may look for a great calm. Reserve yourself for that ! If I am wanted, either on your account or for Nicolas's business, I will fly over.

Louvain, 3 Nov. [1517].*

On the same day Erasmus wrote to John Cæsarius of Jülich,—who was still at Cologne (see vol. ii. p. 590),—a letter, which is partly devoted to the denunciation of Pfefferkorn. See Epistles 670, 671.

* Louanij . iii . nonas Nouemb. *Farrago*.

EPISTLE 673. Deventer MS. ; C. 1640 (202).

Erasmus to Cæsarius.

I suspect your man was that blear-eyed fellow, who boasted he had been sent by us with a commission to Rome. Hearing a year ago by some chance, that he was bound for that city, we did charge him with a New Testament, and wrote letters to two Cardinals, by whom I wanted the book to be shown to the Pope ; and we also gave him some money for his journey. But what this excellent person did, was to wander about for two months in Switzerland, begging everywhere in my name, and carrying my book about with him, until he came to the Emperor,* by whom he was presented with seven gold pieces ! It was not he, that delivered your letter to me ; but before I had received your last, he came to me at Louvain, saying that he was then going to Rome, if I had any commands for him. Therefore for the future, drive such vagabonds away,—with a stick if necessary,—and give nothing to anybody but such as I recommend by letter.

I hear that you are in hopes of a benefice at Liège, and I wish, my Cæsarius, it may turn out right.

That the learned take the part of Reuchlin, is only natural kindness ; but that they are entering into written controversy with that pestilent *Corn*,†—that trumpeter of the Furies,—that mouthpiece of certain masked theologians, and veritable vicar of Satan,—of this I by no means approve. Made up, as he is, of evil-speaking, he cannot be overcome by censure, and does not know what it is to blush. A brazen-faced

* *codicem ubique circumferens usque ad Cæsarem.*

† *cum isto pestilentissimo grano.* The person meant is Pfefferkorn. See Epistles 670, 671, pp. 120, 122.

buffoon, he glories in being introduced in any way into the books of the learned, being more ambitious of approval by the most numerous than by the best. But what, if the world understood his treachery, and perceived that the man under the pretext of defending the Christian faith, is in fact proceeding to its subversion? He will then have earned the gratitude of his circumcised friends, to whom he will have done the same service as Zopyrus did to Darius.* I would stake my life, that if an anatomy could be made of him, you would find not one Jew but six hundred Jews in his breast. We must beware of an Angel of Satan transfigured into an Angel of Light. I wish the proverb were not so true as it is,—‘A bad Jew always makes a worse Christian.’ And I trust that learned men will think too highly of themselves to enter into a contest with this foulest of monsters,—a contest from which, whether they conquer or are defeated, they can carry off nothing but mud and poison. I wonder that our Magistrates, our Bishops, and our Emperor do not put a stop to a plague of this sort. It is easy indeed to do mischief; while the people are wanting in judgment, and the least spark may give rise to a wide-spread fire. And what would be more desired by the Jews,—whose cause this fellow is forwarding, while he pretends to oppose it,—than such a severance of Christian concord? For my own part, provided the New Testament remain intact, I had rather that the Old should be altogether abolished, than that the peace of Christendom should be broken for the sake of the books of the Jews. I wish this fellow were still entirely a Jew; and we might then use more circumspection in admitting the rest!

* The story of Zopyrus the Persian, gaining the confidence of the Babylonians by pretending to take refuge with them from the cruelty of Darius, and thus finding means to betray the city to his countrymen, has been recalled by Erasmus in a previous letter. See p. 122.

I have been translating Theodore's second book, after correcting the first, and have sent them both to Basel.

Give my salutation to our friends, and farewell.

Louvain, 3 November, 1517.*

Erasmus,—we may observe,—is so far a man of his time, that he has no objection to appeal to the secular arm to interfere in a religious controversy (see Ep. 670, 671, 674, pp. 120, 122, 128) provided, that the interference is on the right side, that is, upon the side approved by himself. With respect to the book mentioned in the last clause of the above letter, it may be noted, that the first part of Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar had been already translated by Erasmus, and published with a Preface, addressed to Cæsarius himself, dated 23 June, 1516 (Epistle 413); and a translation of the second book, upon which Erasmus had been lately at work (see p. 100), was also, upon its publication, dedicated to the same scholar. See vol. ii. p. 291.

With the same date as the last epistle, Erasmus wrote another letter, which in Leclerc's edition of these Epistles,—following, I presume, some mistaken indication in the Deventer manuscript,—is addressed to Pirckheimer, but has been by Dr. Reich conjectured with more probability to have been written to Count Hermann Neuenaar, or Nuenar, who appears to have been in Orders and a Canon of Cologne Cathedral; and of whom we have a letter to Erasmus of the preceding year, congratulating him upon the publication of the New Testament. See vol. ii. pp. 308, 309. This correspondent had lately taken part in the controversy arising out of the writings of Reuchlin by the publication in Germany of a Defence of that author, written at Rome by Archbishop Georgius Benignus, accompanied by a letter, in which the editor enumerated the Roman adherents of Reuchlin. In the following Epistle Erasmus, while he expresses his agreement with the view taken by his correspondent of the merits of Reuchlin, deprecates any further controversy with his present opponents. Compare pp. 120, 124.

* Louanio, 3 nonas Nov. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 3. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 674. Deventer MS. ; C. 1641 (203).

Erasmus [to Count Hermann Nuenar].

Illustrious Sir, the zeal and ability shown in the booklet, which has been published,—highly as I appreciate those qualities,—have caused no surprise to me, and I am obliged to you for your mention of us, not as our due, but as a proof of your affection. No one has a greater horror of such contests, than I have ; and indeed I still hate my own *Apologia*, which I have been compelled to write in answer to Lefèvre.

I am truly ashamed † to think of erudite men, whose memory may well be honoured by posterity, being engaged in sword-play with that monster of yours, whose mere name defiles their paper, while it is his highest ambition, to have that name in some way or other handed down to posterity by the writings of the learned. It were much rather to be wished, that this Jewish sore should not be touched by Christian fingers.‡ No learned and honest man can be found to deny, that Reuchlin has been unfairly treated. But my opinion has always been, that it was better to say nothing about it, than to face such swarms of hornets, armed, not with stings only, but with poison, or to enter into controversy with a low ruffian, or rather a hateful portent. This would have been the feeling of a truly great mind, and the cause of Innocence would not have been without allies ; while for Reuchlin it ought to have been enough to be approved by every person of worth.

I wonder that our Magistrates and Bishops are so little awake in this matter, as to allow that pestilent fellow to

† The writer here turns to the controversy of Nuenar with Pfefferkorn.

‡ Quin potius ab ista Iudaica scabie unguis abstinent (*read* abstineant) homines germane Christiani.

rage with impunity against learned and illustrious men, and that some Hercules does not stand forth to hurl Cacus into the pit ; for that is the way in which such monsters are to be vanquished,—not by books ! Our authorities fail to see, that from this hellish *corn*, which Satan (in friendship for the Jews) is beginning to sow, the most noxious harvest will arise, unless timely provision be made against it.

Therefore, if you will permit me to give you advice, I would urge you to devote that happy talent of yours, which is worthy of your noble station, to the study of those subjects, which will be universally acceptable. As to the suppression of that book, my opinion is as I have written. It is not right to give a handle to those who are too ready to seize any handle they can find ; and in the next place, no offence should be given to him, under whose protection Good Letters are making their way ; nor should the risk be run of an anonymous book dragging all the learned into suspicion. Those persons are better let alone, who grow greater by public mischief. The eagle does not catch flies ; much more does he restrain his noble talons from scorpions and hornets. But I feel that I am strangely presuming : *Non sus Minervam*. Farewell, illustrious Sir, illustrious not by pedigree alone.

Louvain, 3 November, 1517.*

The following letter, by which Erasmus inscribed to the Duke of Bavaria a revised edition of the History of Quintus Curtius, has more of interest than an ordinary dedication, as the writer takes the opportunity of protesting against the ideal of a Sovereign, which the author of the book had set before his readers in the person of Alexander the Great, and expresses the hope, that modern rulers may rather follow the example of the Prince whom he is addressing, in cultivating the arts of Peace.

* Lovanio 3. Novembris, anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 675. Auctarium, p. 196 ; Ep. iii. 34 ; C. 271 (276)

Erasmus to Ernest, duke of Bavaria.

Marcus Tullius is pronounced by general consent to be an ample and abundant wellspring of oratory. If therefore even he admits, that the vein of eloquence is easily exhausted, if it be not supplied by daily practice of reading and speaking, what does your Highness think must be the case with me, who being scarcely endowed with the slenderest current of speech, have spent a number of years in that kind of study, which is so far from adding grace to our language, that it is capable of extinguishing any copiousness, however largely it may flow, and covering the most brilliant diction with rust and dirt? For what can be less conducive to maintaining the polish of rhetoric, than to be dragged, in a hurried reading, up and down through all kinds of authors, and these too in a faulty state? This is what we had all along to do in editing the New Testament, in compiling and recompiling our Adages, and in arranging the works of Jerome.

With a view therefore in some measure to correct the roughness and poverty of style contracted by those studies, I took with me Quintus Curtius as a travelling companion on my journey last spring to Britain. When I read him as a boy, I had thought his style remarkably brilliant and pure; and he gave me quite the same impression, when tasted afresh after so long an interval. It is a pity that an author very well worth reading has come down to us as a torso,* his two first books having been lost, and the last being imperfect and mutilated in several places. We were amused at the vain-gloriousness of the narrative,—which is charac-

* ἀκέφαλον nobis superesse.

teristically Greek,—though Curtius seems now and then to have kept it in check. And yet, after straining every nerve to portray a sort of exceptional and inimitable sovereign, what else have they described but a world-robber, occasionally mad, but everywhere successful? For indeed he was not more dangerous, when overcome with wine, than drunk with anger or ambition; and in proportion as the rashness of his unruly temper was followed by success, the more mischievous was he to humanity. For my own part, I have no more liking for the Alexander of the Greek historians, than I have for Homer's Achilles. Both the one and the other present the worst example of what a sovereign should be, even if some good qualities may seem to be mingled with so many faults. It was forsooth well worth while, that Africa, Europe and Asia should be thrown into confusion, and so many thousands of human beings slaughtered, to please one young madman, whose ambition this solid globe would have failed to satisfy! It is well, that this living Plague, too much indulged by Fortune in everything else, was denied the gift of longevity.

We have corrected some passages, which we noted in reading, and added an index of words,—principally to show what new expressions are found in this writer, so that nothing may be omitted that is required to appease a set of word-whippers,* who grumble at almost every expression one uses, and cry out that it is not found in any good author! Whatever profit and whatever pains are involved in this work, I have resolved to dedicate to your Highness, to show that we do at any rate retain in our mind the memory of a Prince, to whom both privately I am myself deeply obliged,—having received from him long ago a most generous challenge,—and publicly very much is due from all the votaries of Good Letters. These your Highness so graces

* quo placemus λογομάστιγας quosdam. C.

by your illustrious ancestry,* so recommends by the integrity of your character, so fosters by your liberality, so protects by your authority, that before long their supreme success will be assured,—if other princes will but throw aside their martial infatuation, and emulate your example. Farewell.

Louvain, 4 November, 1517.†

The following epistle appears to have been written by More, who was still at Calais (see pp. 91, 103), immediately after receipt of a letter addressed to him by Erasmus, which was accompanied by others sent him for transmission to Bishop Fisher and to Colet. None of these letters of Erasmus have been preserved. The answer of More was inserted in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, edited at Basel by Beatus Rhenanus in August, 1518.

EPISTLE 676. *Auctarium*, p. 145 ; Ep. iii. 8 ; C. 1641 (204).

Thomas More to Erasmus.

I have received your letter to-day ; and others at the same time for Colet, and the Bishop of Rochester, with a little book. I will take care they are forwarded as soon as possible, so that the book may not lose the grace of novelty. Upon reading your letter I wonder why you have not written to the Archbishop of Canterbury as well, so as to transact your own business with him, as indeed, if I am not mistaken, no one has more influence with him than you ; although, if you prefer to act through me, and think it can be better managed *viva voce* than by letter, I shall be quite pleased to do what you have desired. But there will be no opportunity of carrying it out as quickly as I should wish your

* sic ornas clarissimis majorum tuorum stemmatis. C. *Stemmatis* is a form of the ablative plural adopted by Cicero.

† Anno M. D. xvii. pridie Nonas Novembris.

business to be done ; it being a rule with us for an envoy returning from his mission to go straight to the King without turning aside to call on anyone else.* Moreover our business here is going on so slowly, that I am afraid I shall have to stay longer than I expected, or than will be convenient for myself,—unless perhaps there shall appear to be no hope of anything to wait for. Meantime if you like, the thing can be done by letter ; and as I have no doubt you will so wish it, I will arrange that this year's pension shall be consigned to Maruffo, and a bill sent you for it.

As to the redemption of the pension, I certainly do not think it is to be done ; both because there is nobody in a position to redeem it, except one, who, as I hear, has not the means of doing so,† and also because I am afraid that the Archbishop would construe it as though you had quite turned your thoughts away from us. For these reasons pray think the matter over again. If you decide to pursue it, I will not fail you ; and meantime I will myself treat about the payment ; and I think you will not do ill, if you add a letter from yourself, which he perhaps expects.

I am glad the Paraphrase is in the press ; and indeed I am jealous of Louvain, which has obtained a favour, of which, as far as I see, it scarcely recognizes the value.

As to the person of whom you write, I am either much mistaken, or he will never change. Tunstall evidently thinks, that you are too good-natured, believing him still after having been so often deceived.

Pace has not yet come back, and I do not know when he

* More consequently could not go to Otwell or stay at Canterbury, on his way from Calais to London.

† It may be supposed that Erasmus had consulted More about the possibility of obtaining a capital sum in exchange for his pension upon the living of Aldington. The only person in a position to redeem the pension would have been Richard Master, the actual Rector, who in all probability had no funds to apply to that purpose. See vol. i. p. 33, ii. p. 65

will. Neither can I imagine what he has to do ; at any rate, as far as I can make out, there has been no negotiation for a long time either with the Emperor or with the Swiss. And yet he is not allowed to return home, after residing,—I think for more than a year,—at Constance. I wonder he has not sent you back the book ; I will write to him most distinctly about it ; for there is nothing I am more anxious to get done, whether for my own sake or for the sake of literature.*

Farewell, my dearest Erasmus. I am glad you liked my verses upon the picture.† Tunstall praised the eleven-syllable lines more than enough ; the piece in six lines moderately. A Friar has ventured to find fault with the latter, because I compared you to Castor and Pollux, whereas I ought to have likened you to Theseus and Pirithous, or Pylades and Orestes, who, like you, were friends, not brothers. I could not tolerate this Friar, though there is some truth in what he says ; so I followed up his good suggestion with a bad epigram.

The warmest friendship to express,
 Castor, I said, loved Pollux less.
 On this a Friar disputed, whether
 Friendship and Brothers matched together.
 Why not? said I, can any other
 Love a man better than a brother?
 The Friar laughed to hear a saying
 Such childish ignorance betraying.
 Our house is large and full, said he,
 More than two hundred Brothers we ;
 But hang me, if in all you find
 A pair of Brothers of one mind.

* Pace appears to have had in his custody the manuscript of Erasmus's treatise entitled *Antibarbari* ; which More wished to be published. See vol. i. p. 452.

† See Epistle 654, p. 92.

Now farewell again, in haste, the messenger being very impatient, and himself hurried, I think, by the coachman.*

Calais, 5 November, [1517.]

Epistle 677, addressed by the Bishop of Utrecht to Erasmus, was first printed in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, where it bears date, *sexto Decembris Anno M. D. XVII.* But as the letter is clearly anterior to Epistles 688 and 689, the former being written in answer to it and dated 16 *Cal. Dec.* (16 November), as well as to Epistle 703, dated *præfesto die diui Nicolai* (5 December) in the same year, I have ventured to read in the first date *Sexto Novembris* for *Sexto Decembris*. Epistle 677 was written upon the order of the Bishop, by his Secretary, Gerard of Nimeguen. See Epistle 703, which was afterwards addressed to Erasmus by the Secretary in his own name. In reading the words in the Bishop's letter, referring to the obligation of Erasmus to the Bishop's brother and predecessor, we may remember, that it was by his engagement in the household of Bishop David, that Erasmus, at a momentous period of his life, found means of disentangling himself from his monastic restrictions. See vol. i. p. 85.

EPISTLE 677. *Auctarium*, p. 219; Ep. iii. 47; C. 273 (282).

Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, to Erasmus.

Most learned and beloved Erasmus, we have received your letter, which in the midst of the many cares, with which we are burdened, has given us much pleasure. The *Complaint of Peace* has been in the highest degree agreeable, not only to us, but to all true Christians. We would not have your erudition hid away,—as dormice and cuckoos keep themselves out of sight,—but would rather exhort you to complete the noble works, which you have in hand, for the use and honour of our own age and the admiration of Posterity.

* Jam iterum vale. Caleti v. Novembris raptim, valde festinante tabellario, urgente, opinor, illum auriga. The messenger taking charge of the letter for Louvain was probably beginning his journey with the carrier to some neighbouring town.

For ourselves, we will endeavour, with God's help, to be no less useful to you than was our brother David of pious memory. We write to you in few words, but with a great regard for you and for your erudition.

Farewell, most excellent Erasmus, and continue to love us, as you do.

From our Castle of Vellenhoe, [6 November] 1517.*

We have seen something before (vol. ii. 526) of Henricus Afinius, a physician, residing at Antwerp, and ambitious of being reckoned among the friends of Erasmus, to whom he was proposing to make a present of plate. This gift had been so long delayed, that Peter Gillis had lost all patience with the doctor, and had been rebuked by Erasmus for his irritation. See Epistle 656. In writing the following letter Erasmus, who had evidently no love or respect for his correspondent, appears to have thought it worth while to remain upon civil, —and even on affectionate,—terms with him, if only for the sake of the "costly cups," which had not yet arrived.

EPISTLE 678. Deventer MS. ; C. 1652 (227).

Erasmus to Henricus Afinius.

I am much delighted, most erudite Henry, with your letter,—plainly yours, as it is most kind. It enables me truly to enjoy my Henry.

As you have been buying such costly silver cups, I cannot but lovingly accept so kind an intention. But I am conscious of a variety of emotions. At one moment I am ashamed to receive so great a present from a person whom I have rather wished to oblige, than have actually done so. At another moment I am ashamed to refuse a gift spontane-

* Ex arce nostra Vellenhoe, sexto Decembris, Anno 1517. *Auctarium*. See, as to this date, the remarks which precede the letter. See also p. 152.

ously offered, lest I should appear either to fail in appreciating your kind intention, or to be unwilling to rest under so great an obligation to you ; seeing that one characteristic of a loving heart is to be indebted without grudging.

Therefore, since you are so resolved to challenge Erasmus in good offices, I shall not forget my part of the bargain. The Frieslander, whom I shall perhaps send, or, if he does not come, Thierry printer* will bring the cups to me.

I was going to send the second book of Theodore,† but it is not yet fully corrected ; and I should be glad to know, whether you would like to have this volume inscribed to you,—or another on some philosophical or medical subject. The latter would perhaps be more appropriate, but whatever I understand to be your wish, I shall take pains to carry it out.

Farewell, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, [November] 1517.‡

The Francis, about whom Erasmus enquires in the first sentence of the following Epistle, is, no doubt, Francis Berckman, bookseller of Antwerp, of whom we have read before. See vol. i. 13, ii. 135. The comedy of *Excusibilia* is that which was being played between Erasmus and Afinius, in which the writer seems to be quite indifferent about the undignified character in which he himself appears. The letter addressed to Afinius, which accompanied that to Gillis, and which Gillis was to look at if he liked, may be assumed to be Epistle 678.

EPISTLE 679. Deventer MS. ; C. 1651 (226).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I wanted to know, what arrangement you had made with

* Theodoricus typographus, Thierry Martens.

† Erasmus was preparing to send to the press at Louvain the second book of Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar. See p. 126.

‡ Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

Francis, and you give me no answer. I shall accept gladly any excuse, provided it is not that of illness ; I hope, my Peter, you have not any excuse so good !

The last Act of 'Things Excusable' is still to be performed ; but if he has lost all power of blushing, I shall treat the rogue as he deserves. Farewell and write.

P.S.—If you like, you can open the letter which I have written to Afinius and seal it again, so that you may know what I have written. But, if he continues to play the fool, you will soon see a change of scene !

Farewell again, part of my soul. I am hearing nothing from More for a long time. Send the seal, if it is ready.*

Louvain, [November] 1517.†

We may infer from the following letter, that Gillis had written to Erasmus in great distress, informing him that the writer's father, of whose sickness we have read, appeared to be approaching his end. The bearer of the following reply of Erasmus was a servant of his own, who had orders to bring back with him to Louvain, whatever articles (books, papers or clothes) Erasmus had left at Antwerp, in the house where Gillis had been living with his father.

EPISTLE 680. Farrago, p. 195 ; Ep. vii. 35 ; C. 1775 (386).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

For your excellent father I wish what is best ; and again and again I beseech you, dearest Peter, to bear at any rate with self-control what cannot be altered. Do not spoil your existence by a sorrow destructive to yourself, bitter to those that belong to you, and most bitter to More and me. Retain your life for yourself,—for your family,—and for happier times.

* The seal is mentioned again in Epistle 685. See pp. 147, 148.

† Louanio, 1517. C.

Whether your father be still living or not, I know you are fully occupied, not only with grief, but with business too. Therefore, for fear of your being further troubled with any of my affairs, I have sent my James to bring hither whatever you have of mine. If there is anything that can be of use to you, take it out ; and write to tell me what you have taken. I only wish that with the sum of all I have I could buy back your father's health and yours. I should have come, but am afraid of catarrh ; and wholly engaged in the restoration of the New Testament.

I have received two letters from More. Take care of your health, and show yourself a brave man. If there is anything I may be able to do to please you, make the experiment whether I love you with all my heart.

Louvain, St. Martin's eve, 10 November [1517].*

* Louanii, pridie Martini. *Farrago*. Lovanio 12. Novembris. C.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Continued residence at Louvain in November, 1517. Publication of the Complaint of Peace, and of the Paraphrase of Paul's Epistle to the Romans; Epistles of Erasmus to the Cardinal Grimani, Peter Gillis, Reuchlin, the Bishop of Utrecht, Gerard of Nimeguen, Marcus Laurinus, Banisius, Clava, Pace, Nuenar, More, Budé, Lefèvre and others; Letters of Banisius, Spalatinus and Listrius to Erasmus. Epistles 681 to 702.

EPISTLE 681, dated at Antwerp the 12th of November, 1517, is the answer of Banisius to the short note of Erasmus, Epistle 671, dated at Louvain nine days before. This letter of Banisius, which is printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, is of interest as showing the position attributed to Erasmus in the Commonwealth of Letters.

EPISTLE 681. *Farrago*, p. 167; Ep. vi. 34; C. 271 (277).

Jacobus Banisius to Erasmus.

Reverend and honorable Sir, Your very kind letter found me seriously out of health, and not even master of my faculties.* Consequently my answer to it comes rather late, and not written with my own hand.

There is no reason why your Excellence should be angry with yourself for not welcoming me with more eagerness,

* nec mei ipsius compotem.

when I called on you without invitation here at Antwerp. You showed yourself only too indulgent to me ; while I had my wish gratified as soon as I had seen the person I desired. Indeed I felt at the time, that I had acted with no little presumption in venturing to intrude upon a man of so much learning, and engaged in studies so important, with a sort of courtly assurance without first taking soundings, and using greater ceremony ; but that I trust he will attribute rather to the same eagerness, which had attracted me from my remote Illyrian bay, than to any intended rudeness. I was longing to behold in person a man, whom in his absence I had been used to worship for his learning as a sort of god ; and every delay seemed hazardous. When therefore I understood that you were here, I thought that the only way of compassing my object was to fly to you at once. As soon as I am well in health, if business will allow, I shall before leaving this country visit you again at Louvain, since you are pleased to ask me ; for you ought not at this time to lose such valuable hours in coming to me here.

As for the Jew,* or for those who venture, under a name so infamous and wretched, to contend with the good and learned,—only trying to catch some fame for themselves out of infamy,—I reckon there is no better course, than to leave them alone, with their minds uncircumcised from every good work, to hide themselves in their own darkness. Nothing sound can arise from moving or touching an unsound thing.

I will forward your letters to Mayence, and to Pirckheimer. May your reverend Lordship live long in health and happiness for the advantage and increase of all studies.

Antwerp, 12 November, 1517.†

* This clause relates to Pfefferkorn, who is mentioned in the letter of Erasmus, to which this Epistle is an answer. See p. 122.

† Antuuerpiæ, die duodecima nouembris. An. M. D. xvii. *Farrago*.

Georgius Spalatinus,—Georg Burckhardt of Spalt in the episcopal principality of Eichstadt, now included in the kingdom of Bavaria,—appears to have been one of the household of Frederic, duke of Saxony. This gentleman had written to Erasmus, eleven months before, Epistle 488, which is described in vol. ii. p. 446. He now addresses to him a short letter, dated on the 13th of November, 1517, from the Castle of Aldenburg,†—EPISTLE 682, *Farrago*, p. 374, Ep. xi. 23, C. 272 (278),—asking in the name of his lord, the duke of Saxony, who had all Erasmus's books in his library, for an answer to his former epistle. We have no evidence what answer was returned by Erasmus to this second letter, which he thought it worth while to print in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, published in October, 1518.‡

Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,—the first published of his series of Paraphrases,—appears to have been completed late in the autumn of 1517, being inscribed to the Cardinal Domenico Grimani by a dedicatory Epistle dated at Louvain on the 13th day of November in that year. It should be remembered, that when Erasmus was at Rome in the summer of 1509, he had paid a visit to this Cardinal at his palace in that City. See vol. i. p. 461. The writings of Erasmus contain so few allusions to the remains of ancient Rome, that it is worth while to extract from this Epistle a passage, in which a somewhat perplexing reference is made to this subject. In the following lines, forming the second half of the Dedication, the author turns from his Roman patron to address Rome herself. The Paraphrase, with its accompanying Dedication, is printed in the seventh volume of Le Clerc's edition of the works of Erasmus.

EPISTLE 683. C. vii. 771.

Erasmus to Cardinal Grimani.

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*

If thy admiration is stirred by the Arches or Pyramids, which are the vestiges of ancient superstition, wilt thou not

† Ex arce Aldenburgia. Idibus Nouem. An. M. D. XVII. *Farrago*.

‡ Some letters which passed between Reuchlin and Spalatinus are included or described in Geiger's collection of Reuchlin's correspondence. *Reuchlin's Briefwechsel*, pp. 196, 210, 338.

be more delighted with the monuments of religion, which are handed down in the books of the Apostles.† Thou admirest Hadrian's Statue, and the Baths of Domitian ; wilt thou not welcome more readily the sacred Epistles of Peter and of Paul ? If in the books of Sallust or of Livy thou art pleased with the ancient story, which tells thee from what an origin thou wast lifted under thine Eagle's auspices to a world-wide supremacy, destined soon to fail, shall it not be still more delightful to learn in the books of Apostles and Evangelists, from what beginnings under Christian auspices thou has attained an ecclesiastical sovereignty, which is never to cease. As with the Jews no trace remains of their holy Temple, so thy Capitol, to which the ancient Poets vainly promised eternity, has so completely disappeared, that its very locality cannot now be pointed out.‡ If thou admirest the tongue of Cicero, of which thou canst scarcely tell whether it did more good or harm to the Commonwealth, art thou not still more delighted with the eloquence of Paul, to whom thou owest thy religion and salvation ? Thou wert always greedy of praise, and thou hast indeed in him a trumpeter of thy glory as authoritative as he is renowned. What greater triumph than to be praised by the mouth of an Apostle ? * * * *

It is thy part to see that thou degenerate not from Rome

† in horum libris receptæ (*qu.* recepta) religionis monumenta.

‡ It can scarcely pass without observation, that to the most learned visitor from the North of Europe to the Holy City in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the very locality of the Capitol was unknown. The church which stands upon its highest summit, anciently called Sancta Maria in Capitolio, had already assumed the name of Sta Maria in Ara Coeli. But it may be observed, that in the *Mirabilia Romæ*, the popular guide-book in the hands of the ordinary medieval traveller from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the story is told of a vision seen by the Emperor Augustus, in his chamber where now is the Church of St. Mary in the Capitol, which is called Sancta Maria in Ara Coeli. *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, English version, p. 38.

to Babylon ! Jerome admits, that in his time the evidences still remained in Rome of the religion praised by Paul. 'Where else,' says he, 'do men repair in such numbers and with so much zeal to the Churches, and to the tombs of Martyrs ? Where does the Amen resound so like the thunder of Heaven, and shake the temples from which their Idols have been ejected ? Not that the Christians of Rome have a different faith from that of all the Churches of Christ, but that their devotion and simple readiness to believe are greater.' Magnificent indeed is this testimony of Jerome, but what would he now say, if he could see in the same city so many Churches, so many Cardinals, so many Bishops,—if he saw how all the Princes of the World are seeking responses from this one surest oracle of Christ ; and what crowds are meeting here for Religion's sake from the furthest corners of the world ! A Christian scarcely feels himself to be such, unless he has seen Rome, and saluted the Roman Pontiff, as a sort of earthly deity,* upon whose nod all the welfare of mortals depends ! We should add, that under the Tenth Leo, he would see the Roman city, free from the tempest of war, flourishing no less in learning than in religion. The place, which alone possesses so many persons pre-eminent in Ecclesiastical dignity, so many men distinguished in every branch of learning, so many lights and ornaments of mankind, you might well term a world rather than a city. Nothing remains to be asked of Heaven, but that our Pontiff should continue to respond to the praises he receives, that his piety should be no less than his felicity, his goodness exceed his majesty. This will come to pass, if he endeavours to reproduce the character and lives of Peter and of Paul, under whose auspices he rules ; and their likeness cannot anywhere be found more vividly expressed than in their own Epistles.

* quasi numen quoddam terrestre.

Meantime, most holy Father, a fragment of the writings of Paul will be more readily welcomed by others, if it shall come to them from your hands; that is, from the hands of one who is an admirable patron of every study,—especially of those in which a knowledge of languages is required; and who is at the same time so conspicuous for moral integrity, that brilliant as are the lights that surround him, his personality is still eminently bright,—not in such a fashion as to throw others into the shade, but on the contrary to add an excess of light and distinction to characters in themselves illustrious.

Louvain, 13 November, 1517.*

In these days, when the topography of ancient Rome has been so long the subject of continued and careful investigation, any person who may be at all familiar with this branch of antiquities, will be interested to observe in the above letter, how little was known or suspected upon this subject by the greatest scholar from the North of Europe who visited Rome in the early years of the sixteenth century. Erasmus had been there for several months in the early part of the year 1509; see our first volume, pp. 453, 464. At that period the most important of the ancient localities, which are so familiar to modern visitors with their guide-books in their hands, were unknown even to the most learned scholars, while the attention of the ordinary pilgrim was directed to the Tombs of the Christian Martyrs, and to the marvellous Relics displayed on Feast-days in the Churches.

The person addressed in the following letter appears to have been resident at Liège, and in intimate relation with the Bishop of that place. We may conclude from this short note, that he had already written to Erasmus. A later letter from the same correspondent, Epistle 719, shows that he was then instructed by Erasmus to convey to his patron, the Bishop, a copy of the Paraphrase of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, which at the date of the present letter was still in the press.

* Lovanio, 13 Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 684. Deventer MS. ; C. 1653 (231).

Erasmus to Paschasius Berselius.

If I am somewhat stingy in writing, my excellent Paschasius, it is not that I love you less dearly, or do not think of you so often. If you could see with what labours I am distracted, you would count this little note to be a long letter. The Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans is being printed.

If he is known to you, please greet for me that Canon at St. Leonards, who understands Greek,—I think his place of origin is Hasselta,—and greet also that amusing divine of the Preachers' Order, who forced me at Antwerp to write him a letter.

Farewell, and write.

Louvain, 1517.

Peter Gillis's father appears to have been indeed on his deathbed at the time of Erasmus's last letter to Peter. See Epistle 680. Before the 15th of November (three days later) the news of his death had reached Louvain, with a not altogether unfavourable report of the condition of Peter himself. The reference to the mission of James connects the following letter with Epistle 680 on the one hand, and with Epistle 687 on the other.

EPISTLE 685. Farrago, p. 185 ; Epist. vii. 18 ; C. 357 (344)

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I grieve for the death of your excellent father ; but at the same time I think him happy to have departed as he has. To this lot we are all born, and in human affairs there is nothing that lasts long,—still less endures for ever. I am glad to hear that you are better, and hope you may continue so.

Although I had burdened James with a number of commissions,* there was one thing I forgot, which especially requires attention. The Archbishop of Canterbury writes to me to take up twenty pounds sterling from some friend here, and to send a bill for the amount, which he will repay at sight. Therefore, as I hear you are not allowed to go out, send for John Crull, or any other person more suitable, and get him to pay you the money and take my bill in return; or he may trust the business to me, and I will take care, that the money be paid in England to any person he may name; and if the Archbishop does not make the payment,—though I am quite sure he will do so,—I will repay the money myself. In case the man requires it, you might give your own security, which will be all right for you,† as the money will remain in your hands. I am interested in getting this done without delay; do you know why? In order that, when Easter comes round, I may be in a position to beg again with more decency! I want you therefore to do it; it will benefit me, and do no harm to anybody.

More is still at Calais, where his stay appears to be most disagreeable as well as expensive, and his business as hateful as can be. This is the blessing that Kings confer on their friends; this is what it is to be in favour with Cardinals! Just in the same way Pace was sent to Switzerland, and kept there two years. Please let us have his letter.‡

I hope it may suit your convenience to winter with me here. We shall have plenty of gossip together. My Paraphrase is just running round to the end of its course.

* See Epistles 680, 687; pp. 138, 150.

† Quod erit tibi bonum atque commodum. I understand Erasmus to mean, that he has no immediate want of the money, and intends Gillis to keep it for the present. In the next sentence he frankly explains the reason of his wishing not to delay his application to the Archbishop.

‡ We may probably infer from this, that Pace had been at Antwerp, and that Erasmus had heard that he had left a letter for him there with Gillis.

I left thirty-six Philips* with Nicolas,—and I think something more,—to pay for the blankets, on the understanding that after this payment he should hand over the remainder to you; and I remember having written about it; but you say nothing in reply; please let me know. Do not send his books back to N. until we see;† he is now at Cambridge, where he is going to be Professor of Greek. Say nothing about his letter having been delivered to you.

The doctor has asked for a fortnight's truce!‡ If by any chance you see the man, do pretend you are ashamed to meet me, unless he fulfils what he promised; and let Nicolas, who heard him swear he would do it, say the same.

I should have liked the seal to have been sent sooner; but I do not find fault with you, knowing how you are dealing with your own concerns. I inclose in your letter my bills of exchange, and the Archbishop's letter. If Crull is away or unwilling, I trust Francis will not refuse.§ Farewell, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, 15 November, [1517].||

It appears from the last paragraph of the above Epistle, that Erasmus was expecting a seal, which was in the hands, possibly for resetting, of a tradesman at Antwerp; and in Epistle 687, written a few days later, the same matter is again mentioned. It is of interest to observe, as a personal matter, that at the time of his death Erasmus seems to have had two seals in his possession, both of which had the bust of Terminus engraved upon them, and one,—possibly the seal which he was now expecting from Antwerp,—had inscribed upon it,

* Philippeos.

† We may presume that N. is Lupset.

‡ Medicus petiti inducias quatuordecim dierum. The *medicus* is, no doubt, Afnius.

§ We read of John Crull, a wealthy citizen of Antwerp, in vol. ii. pp. 515, 516. Francis is probably Francis Perckman or Berckman, a bookseller of the same city; see vol. ii. pp. 109, 135. Erasmus was confident, that one or other of these would give him money for his English bills.

|| Louanij, Decimo septimo Calendas Decembr. *Farrago*.

the words *TERMINVS* and *CONCEDO NVLLI*. It may also be observed that in a letter to Alfonsus Valdesius, Secretary to the Emperor, dated 1 August, 1528, Erasmus takes some pains to explain the meaning of the words *concedo nulli*, as proper to the deity Terminus, the Protector of Landmarks, in consequence apparently of a suggestion, that this unconciliatory motto had been appropriated to himself by the owner of the seal. C. x. 1757; Jortin, *Erasmus*, vol. ii. pp. 485, 752. An engraving of this seal, which appears to have been originally a present from Erasmus's old pupil, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's (see vol. i. p. 455), may be found in the last page of Jortin's book.

The latest Epistle, which has been included in our text as passing between Erasmus and Reuchlin, is Epistle 541, written by Reuchlin and dated 27 March, 1517,—which has been shortly described in our vol. ii. p. 534; but it is not improbable that other letters had passed between them since that date, which have not been preserved. The following Epistle is not found in any of the published collections of Erasmus's Epistles, nor in the Deventer Manuscript, but is included in a collection of the correspondence of Reuchlin published in the lifetime of both. It is apparently a hastily written letter, printed without the sanction of the writer, who may well have disapproved of its publication. The Jewish convert, whose work, written in German, is mentioned in the second clause, we may presume to be Pfefferkorn. See our vol. ii. p. 130. The commencement of the letter is of interest, as showing the estimation in which publications in the vulgar tongue were regarded by the writer.

EPISTLE 686. *Illustrium virorum Epistolæ ad Reuchlin*, (1519); Geiger, *Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, p. 266; Reich, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, p. 254.

Erasmus to Reuchlin.

If you, our Germany's glory, are in good health, I have every reason to rejoice.

That circumcised creature, who from a wicked Jew has become a still more reprobate—I will not say Christian, but professor of Christianity,—has published a book, and that in

the vulgar tongue, so as to be intelligible to his own class of people,—in which, as I am told, he tears to pieces all the learned, naming them by name. But in my judgment it is a monster, that does not at all deserve to be mentioned in the letters of accomplished persons. Good heavens, what a tool it is in the hands of those masked enemies of Religion! That one man, half-Jew, half-Christian, has done more mischief to Christianity than a whole sink of Jews. He is simply doing, if I am not mistaken, the same service to his tribe as Zopyrus did to Darius,* but is much more wicked than he. It is for us, my Reuchlin, to turn our backs upon such portents, and to find our pleasure in Christ, and in the enjoyment of honourable studies.

Master Colet and your admirer at Rochester are well; and all the learned and honest men are your friends. I called on Dorpius to explain, why this University had meddled with your affair, as they have put his pen to a bad use in the matter. His answer was, that it was done entirely by the authority of Adrian, who has now become Cardinal;† and that there was never any mention of ‘heresy,’ but only of ‘errors.’ But what writing is free from error? Not that I see myself any error there. I have had the book translated into Latin, and sent it to the bishop of Rochester. Farewell.

I would have written more at length, but there was no certainty here about a letter-carrier.‡

Louvain, 15 November, [1517]. §

* The story of Zopyrus, the Persian, who took refuge in Babylon from the pretended tyranny of his master Darius, and contrived to betray the city to that king after a siege of nineteen months, is told in Herodotus, iii. 153-160, and has been more than once recalled by Erasmus. See before, pp. 122, 125.

† Adrian of Utrecht, Cardinal, 1 July, 1517, elected Pope (Hadrian VII.), 9 Jan. 1522. See vol. ii. p. 590.

‡ Sed hic incertus erat γραμματοφόρος.

§ Lovanii xvii. Kal. Decembres.

The following letter, printed in *Farrago* without date of day, and placed in that collection before Epistle 680, which is dated St. Martin's Eve (10 November), was probably written by Erasmus some few days after that date. There is no express mention in it of his correspondent's father, to whose recent death the sad affliction mentioned in the second paragraph may safely be referred. James, who had been sent by Erasmus to Antwerp with a number of commissions (see pp. 138, 145) had now returned to Louvain.

EPISTLE 687. *Farrago*, p. 193 ; Epist. vii. 80 ; C. 286 (288).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

It is all right about the things that James has brought us ; and I have no distrust at all of Master Nicolas,* though I was surprised that the money had not been paid to you.

I am grieved at your sad affliction, and had no other reason for asking to have my things back, except to relieve you of trouble. I find no fault about the seal ; only let your servant spur the man on.†

I wish I had known that Pace was in your parts, as by his letter I now understand him to be ; I should have flown over at once. I was not much taken by the Epistle to Dorpius ; but I have not yet read it through.

I should like to know, what service Francis and Crull are offering to me in proposing to write for me to the Archbishop, or what it is they distrust, when the money is to remain in your hands, and you are to be answerable for it ! Neither do you incur any risk, except that of having, upon a certain event, to pay back the same money. Pretty triflers they are, and fine friends they would be, if any real difficulty

* de M. Nicolao. *Farrago*. The person intended was probably Nicolas Barbier. M. stands for Magistro. See note, p. 5.

† See Epistle 685, pp. 146, 147. Peter being kept to the house by his father's death, could only convey Erasmus's message to the engraver by a servant.

arose ! Crull is quite aware that Canterbury is not Chancellor now, or he would,—I think,—have paid it out of his own pocket ! If they make any difficulty about it, let it be ; if they do it, they will gratify me without any risk to themselves ; but it must be done without loss of time.

Do, my dear Peter, let the doctor alone, and play out the play with us ! His last letter has a still more scurrilous scent about it ; but it will all come right. The only thing you have to do is to take care and live in peace and quiet, and reserve yourself for better times ! We are, ourselves, fairly well.

I send one of my Paraphrases with corrections. My best wishes for your little wife, and the rest of your household.

Louvain, [November] 1517.*

The first Paraphrase of Erasmus,—*In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos Paraphrasis*,—published by Thierry Martens, bears date *Lovanii, 1517, mense Novembri*. The printer was an old ally, devotedly attached to Erasmus ; see vol. i. p. 361, ii. pp. 65, 169.

We have seen (p. 88) that in the autumn of the year 1517, Erasmus had already composed the so-called Declamation, entitled *Querela Pacis undique gentium ejectæ profligatæque*, which is said to have been written at the time when those efforts were being made in the interest of Peace, which led to the Congress of Cambrai.† Of this work Erasmus gives the following account in his Epistle to Botzheim or *Catalogue of Lucubrations*, dated in 1524. Jortin, *Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 428.

We wrote the Complaint of Peace about seven years ago, having been lately admitted to the Prince's Court. Great efforts were being made to gather a Congress at Cambrai of

* Louanij. Anno M.D.XVII. *Farrago*.

† The Treaty of Cambrai appears to have been dated, 11 March, 1517. *State Papers*, ii. 3008.

the greatest sovereigns of the world,—the Emperor, the king of France, the king of England and our king Charles,—in order that a Peace might be concluded between them with bonds of adamant, as the saying is. This matter was principally managed by William de Chièvres, and John le Sauvage the Chancellor. * * * Accordingly it was by the command of John le Sauvage that I composed the Complaint of Peace.†

The above statement of Erasmus appears to be so far historically inaccurate, as there was no proposal to include the King of England in these negotiations. The Congress lasted from February 19 to March 11, and was not attended by the Sovereigns in person, and the Treaty, made at Cambrai, 11 March, 1517, was not even communicated to the English Government. And it was not likely to lead to a general peace, as it involved a scheme for the partition of Northern Italy,—including the provinces then subject to Venice,—between the three Sovereigns. See Brewer, *Abstracts*, iii. pp. 948, 1019.

Erasmus's Declamation on behalf of Peace had been printed in the autumn of 1517, with a dedication to Philip, the new Bishop of Utrecht, Epistle 652; and this dedication having been acknowledged by a letter of the Bishop, dated from the castle of Vellenhoe, probably early in November of the same year (Epistle 677),‡ the following epistle of Erasmus was written to the Secretary of the Bishop in consequence of the receipt of the Bishop's letter. See before, pp. 88, 134.

† The *Querela Pacis* is included in the fifth volume of Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus's Works, pp. 625-642. The Epistle to Botzheim or Catalogue of Lucubrations, from which the above statement respecting the origin of the *Querela Pacis* is derived, bears date at Basel, 30 January, 1524. This Epistle or Catalogue is printed in the Preface to Le Clerc's first volume of Erasmus's Works, but is more conveniently read in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. pp. 415-447.

‡ The printed date is *sexto Decembris, Anno M. D. xvii*. But as the following epistle, (Epistle 689) in the first clause of which the Bishop's letter is mentioned, is dated *xvi. Calend. Decembris*, i.e. the 16th of November, there is evidently a mistake. I have ventured to meet this difficulty by reading *Novembris* for *Decembris* in the date of the Bishop's epistle. See pp. 134, 135.

‘EPISTLE 688. Auctarium, p. 199 ; Epist. iii. 35 ; C. 272 (279).

Erasmus to Gerardus Noviomagus.

I wonder at your having written nothing, when your Prelate has written himself. For I do not suppose that you are so busy as not to have time to do so, or so exalted by success as to disdain your old gossips,—I only wish there were any such reason as the last.

I am extremely glad that the gracious Prelate does not dislike our book of the Complaint of Peace ; and I reckon that I have reaped an abundant harvest in return for my labour, when it is welcomed by the one person of all others whose approbation I desired. The Paraphrase is rapidly approaching the goal. It is a small book, but no one would believe without making the experiment, what toil it has cost me. It shall be sent as soon as it is finished in Thierry's type.†

I have a laughable story to tell you. A man came to me lately in a great hurry, to announce that my benefice, which I had at Utrecht, valued at ‡ * * four Philips, if I was disposed to pay that amount. I was delighted at first, dreaming that some new preferment had been given me ; then I wondered what it could be. At last I became aware, that a mistake had arisen from a community of name ;

† The book was in the press of Thierry Martens, the printer of Louvain.

‡ annuncians sacerdotium meum æstimatum quatuor Philippeis, si vellem numerare. It seems most probable that a line has slipped out here in copying, owing perhaps to the recurrence of the word *Philippeis*. The clause may have stood somewhat as follows, the words between the brackets being conjectural : annuncians sacerdotium meum æstimatum [esse quotannis quadringentis Philippeis apparitorem vero donandum esse viginti] quatuor Philippeis si vellem numerare : informing me, that my living at Utrecht had been valued at four hundred Philips per annum, and that the usher expected a fee of twenty-four Philips, if I was disposed to pay it.

for there is another Erasmus here, a doctor of laws, one of whose letters I unintentionally read not long ago, supposing it to be written to myself; but finding there was nothing in it that concerned me, I suspected that some one was making game of me, until Barbier relieved me of that suspicion.

Do not let my lord send for me during these winter months. I am so occupied with the New Testament, that I cannot move a finger's breadth; and I am determined to get it done in these months.

As to Philip, I can do no more than advise him to attend to his studies; as we have ceased to live in the same house. There is no one in this University either more learned, or better, or pleasanter, or finally a sincerer man than my Nævius. I have never lived more completely to my mind. Farewell.

Louvain, 16 November [1517.*]

John Naef (Nevius or Nævius) was the Principal of the Lilian College at Louvain, where Erasmus appears to be still residing. See vol. ii. pp. 153, 170.

Gerardus Listrius, who in the autumn of 1514 had been among the scholars busy with Erasmus at Basel, and was then described by him as master of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues, and also skilled in Medicine, *medicæ rei non vulgariter peritus*,† had since that time become a schoolmaster at Zwolle, the capital town of the province of Oberyssel in North Holland, from which place he had written to Erasmus in or about June, 1516. See vol. ii. pp. 160, 279. He was probably himself a Hollander,—a countryman of Erasmus, to whom he addresses the following letter, Epistle 689. This letter, as printed by Le Clerc, is without date of day or month, and has at the bottom the year-date, 1516. But regard being had to its relation to other letters written by or to the same correspondent (Epistles 670, 775), it may probably be ascribed to the late autumn of 1517; and it is one of the letters of this

* Louanii xvi calend. Decembria.

† Vol. ii. p. 160.

period, which have a significance of which the writers were little aware,—as illustrating the history of the revolution of religious opinion and practice, which was then impending over a great part of Western Christendom. It also gives a description of the change, which had come over school-boy studies with the revival of an interest in Greek literature. It may be observed with reference to its date that Longicampianus or Langenfeld, a Bavarian scholar, who is mentioned in the first clause, as having been introduced by Erasmus to the writer, had been himself recommended to Erasmus by Dorpius in a letter, which is dated in the printed copy 1517, but may be more probably ascribed to the preceding summer. See vol. ii. p. 306. It may also be noted, that Erasmus's Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles were expected but not yet published, and that Reuchlin's *Ars Cabalistica* and *Philosophia Pythagorica* were believed to be in the Press. The first of Erasmus's Paraphrases of the Pauline Epistles was published near the end of November, 1517; and Reuchlin's *Ars Cabalistica* appears to have been printed by Anselm about the same date.* The Epistle may therefore not improbably be ascribed to the month of October, 1517. The name of *Listrius* attributed to this correspondent, and apparently derived from the Greek *λστρον* (a shovel), probably conceals some Flemish or German surname, which I have not ascertained. It may be suspected that the Latin name had been given to the writer by Erasmus himself in the days of their former intimacy at Basel.

EPISTLE 689. Deventer MS.; C. 1587 (104).

Gerardus Listrius to Erasmus.

Langenfeld,† having been introduced to me by you, I did what I could to teach him Greek; but, inasmuch as this learning did not seem likely to be profitable, or because it would take a long time to master,—he has turned his attention to Mathematics, which he hopes will be more useful to him; and in this study he certainly seems to me to have made fair progress.

* Vol. ii. p. 596.

† Longicampianum. C.

Our Fathers here,* and indeed all our learned people,—who are most devoted to your name,—do most earnestly appeal to you, to write those Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles which you have often promised, and to publish them as soon as they are written. Master Erasmus,—I speak from my heart,—you can scarcely realize yourself, what a service you would be doing to the Church, that is to say, to all pious minds, by publishing those works of yours without delay. I feel sure that very many persons are led by your writings to sacred literature and to Christian piety, having given up the swines' husks, that is, the books of the Heathen. And among these persons I certainly count myself as won to Christ, if by His grace I do not stray from the path of life which is set before me. Absorbed as I am in various scholastic duties, I have scarcely leisure now and then to open a book ; but if I can steal any time from those occupations, it is all taken up in reading the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul.

Cæsarius has written to me, that Capnio† is having the *Ars Cabalistica*, and *Philosophia Pythagorica* printed by Thomas Anselm.

I have so far been sowing the seeds of Greek learning, that even my younger boys write their little essays in Greek. One thing distresses me, that I am not able as yet to thrust out that barbarous Logic ; for of the barbarous Grammar I am already rid.

If your Listriolus can in any way be of service, pray use him as one most devoted to you ; you know what my mind is. Farewell.

It is strange, Master Erasmus, and yet most true,—that no night passes in which I do not seem to be with you. All last night,—to let you know something of my dreams,—we

* The Fathers of the Convent of St. Agnes. See p. 120.

† Reuchlin. See the last page.

were together at Basel ; so fixed is Erasmus in the heart of Listrius.

Zwolle [November, 1517].*

In Epistle 638, addressed to Marcus Laurinus in the middle of September, 1517 (p. 68), Erasmus had spoken of his own illness, and had also lamented the barrenness of the country. Laurinus had apparently thought that his correspondent might be in immediate need of ready money, and had sent him a few coins of some value, which he had by him, and which we may imagine to have been all within his reach that he had to spare. The letter of Laurinus has not been preserved.

EPISTLE 691. Deventer MS. ; C. 1643 (208).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

Most accomplished Mark, I have received your letter, sweet as honey,—in other words, quite your own ; and if this messenger had been going to you only a little later, he might have taken back to you my Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, a work of immense labour, though of no great length. It is now being printed, and is almost finished.

I received with your letter a Flemish noble, a double Spanish ducat, and an English Michael,† a handsome present, and all the more welcome on account of its giver ; though I suspect that you mistook some words in my letter. I was thinking of my Frieslander, to whom I had given a letter for you, though he did not find you at home ; and I was wondering at the barrenness of this country,‡ which could not find a living for a person with such a variety of

* Ex Zwol, Anno 1516. C.

† An Angel, so called from the figure upon it.

‡ sterilitatem hujus regionis. Ep. 638, p. 69.

accomplishments,—musician, pugilist, Latin scholar, Greek scholar, dancer, scribe, and what not? As to our own fortune, poor as it is, I do not so much mourn over that.

Long have I learned my fortune to deplore ; *

or rather to make the best of whatever comes in my way !

I want very much to know what has become of your brother Matthias. Has he gone off to Spain, and if so, how does he like it? I wish it could be arranged,—if it would suit your convenience,—that you should pass these winter months with us ; but I think you are too much engaged elsewhere. My host is the kindest of men, and as learned as he is kind.† John Borssele is here, and Gaverius.‡ The son of the Prince of Bergen is also living here, a young man of the sweetest character, and with much more interest in literature than is usual with noblemen.

You will give my greeting to the venerable Dean. Nævius heartily returns your salutation. Farewell.

Louvain, 19 November, 1517.§

It may be observed, that Erasmus's old patron, the Bishop of Cambrai, the head of the princely family of Bergen, having died on the 7th of October, 1502, had been succeeded by his nephew, in whose son, then studying at Louvain,—the great-nephew of his old patron,—Erasmus was pleased to find a young nobleman taking some interest in books.

Epistle 692, which is the answer of Erasmus to Epistle 681, is without written date, and it may well be conjectured that it was sent, upon the receipt of that epistle, by the messenger who had brought it. Banisius had begun his letter with a poor account of his own health. See p. 139.

* Jam mea me victum docuit fortuna dolere.

† Erasmus's host was Nævius. See p. 154.

‡ John Borssele was, in April, 1514, a Prebendary of Middelburg, and in 1519 Dean of Veer. See vol. ii. p. 129. I do not think that Gaverius is mentioned elsewhere.

§ Lovanio 19 Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 692. Farrago, p. 167; Epist. vi. 35; C. 368 (355).

Erasmus to Banisius.

Honourable Sir, we have good reason to find fault with Zealand for sending you back to us suffering; and yet we thank her too for returning you alive, when she has swallowed up not a few. When you place yourself at the disposition of princes, please do it in such a way as to have some regard to your health; the more your counsel is needed by the public, so much the more care should be taken, that you may long be useful to it. I look forward with much pleasure to a visit from you.

As to our disregarding those chatterers, and leaving them to their own plague, your advice is both wise and friendly. For what else do they do, but betray their own folly and ignorance? Good heavens, how meaningless, how unlearned, and yet how virulent their pamphlets are! There is no risk at any rate that such foolish nonsense will be read by posterity, and that is, after all, the tribunal to which the erudite must have regard; although even now no honest or learned man approves their noisy fury. But we can talk of everything when we meet. Farewell, most honourable Sir.

Louvain, [November, 1517].*

On the 21st of November Erasmus addresses a short letter to Antonius Clava at Ghent. The weather had now become cold, and the writer had ceased to stir from the house. Paulus Æmilius, an Italian scholar settled in France, and author of a work on French History, has been mentioned in a letter of Erasmus, written some fifteen years before. Vol. i. p. 278.

* Lovanii, Anno M. D. XVIII. *Farrago*.

EPISTLE 693. Deventer MS. ; C. 1643 (209).

Erasmus to Clava.

I am wondering, my Clava, how you encounter this cold weather, compelled as you are to take your part in public business. For ourselves, we hide in the house, and live a snail's life, leaving the theologians to transact their business without us. If this messenger had been going back to you a little later, I might have charged him with a copy of my Paraphrase, which is now almost printed.*

I hear that *Paulus Æmilius Veronensis de Rebus Gallicis* is to be bought. I know of nothing more learned or more holy than the author ; he is still living and at Paris.

I wonder at Lefèvre not replying, even by a note. There was a rumour spread here, that he had already sent an answer, but that I was keeping it to myself ! This story arose, as I afterwards discovered, out of an Epistle written to me by a certain Jacobus Faber of Deventer, which, after it had long gone astray through the hands of all the Brothers,† was brought to me at last.

Farewell, and convey my salutations to my friends, especially to Cæsar and the physician.‡

Louvain, 21 November, 1517.§

* The Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans appears to have issued from the press of Thierry Martens before the end of November, 1517, as it bears date in that month. See the next Epistle, which was accompanied by a copy of it.

† per omnium Fratrum manus diu pervagata. The Begging Friars appear to have acted as a sort of post-office, passing the letters entrusted to them from one to the other.

‡ imprimis Cæsarem ac medicum. Robertus Cæsar, schoolmaster, was resident at Ghent. See vol. ii. 475. The Ghent physician here saluted was probably Clavus.

§ Lovanio 21. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

The following epistle, which appears to have accompanied a presentation copy of Erasmus's first Paraphrase, is addressed to Marcus Laurinus, the Dean, or Coadjutor Dean, of St. Donatian at Bruges, from whom Erasmus had, a few days before, received a present of money, acknowledged in Epistle 691. The actual publication of the Paraphrase was still to come. See Epistle 695.

EPISTLE 694. Deventer MS. C. 1642 (206).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

Your last letter, sprinkled as it is with so much pleasantry, is no less agreeable to me, than the present to which it relates. I embrace with affection your interest in literature; but we must fain be time-servers, and have even Paul's authority for it!*

I am glad your brother is well; but what is this news I hear? Is he dwelling among Egyptian crows? and how astonished they must be at this new swan!†

I am glad you like More and Pace; such persons as they are would find favour with me, even if they were Scythians! As to the Frieslander, you need not be at all anxious about him; he has taken himself off somewhere.

I send you Paul, speaking in a new tongue.

Farewell, sweetest of friends.

Louvain [25 November], 1517.‡

* Sed tempore [*read* temporis] serviendum etiam Paulo auctore. The reference is apparently to the Epistle to the Colossians, cap. iv. v. 5; where we read in the Vulgate: In sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt, tempus redimentes (in the original τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι).

† In a later letter to the same person, (dated 5 March, 1518) Erasmus sends a message of salutation to his correspondent's brother Peter, who seems to have been then with him at Bruges. C. 1671 B. It does not appear where he now was,—among the crows.

‡ Lovanio 15. Novembris, Anno 1517. C. 'The 25th day is more likely, as the Paraphrase, 'almost printed' on the 21st (see Epistle 693) was now ready for presentation. The next letter, addressed to the same place, has a like date.

The above short note was accompanied by another, addressed to Richard Pace, who was at this time at Bruges, where he had been staying for the last two or three weeks (Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 3798, 3799); and with whom Erasmus appears to have been already in correspondence since his return from Switzerland; but the earlier letters have not been preserved. Erasmus appears to have had a personal liking for Pace, though it was not sufficient to induce him to regard his literary pretensions with much indulgence. See Epistle 741, addressed to More some three months later.

EPISTLE 695. Deventer MS.; C. 1643 (207).

Erasmus to Pace.

I answered separately your two former letters; and to the third I now send a third in reply, but in few words, being more busy with my literary work than I have ever been before. I congratulate you all the more on the delightful leisure you are enjoying, and almost envy my best of friends!

I regard you as more than a Hercules, having disposed of such a monster, especially, if it is to be believed, without a Theseus! I do hear of him too, as taking part in the game, and to confess the truth, I am jealous of him,—unless you would have me make him Hercules and you Theseus!

My *Paraphrasis*, or, if you like it, *Paraphronesis*,* you will see at Marcus's house, the Dean of St. Donatian that is to be,—but I think by this time the book must be published. If the *Mōpos* is with you, give him a hearty salutation from me, in some proportion to the love I bear him.

Louvain [25 November], 1517.†

Epistle 696, in the title of which the correspondent's name is wanting, was apparently written by Erasmus to the same friend of his

* *Paraphrasin*, sive *mavis Paraphronesin*. My *Version*, or if you like it better, my *Perversion*.

† The same correction of date has been made here as in the last Epistle.

boyhood to whom Epistles 637 and 647 were addressed; in which letters, the name of the correspondent is in like manner omitted. There is no date of day; but having been written after the recovery of Erasmus from his attack of catarrh, mentioned in Epistles 638 and 647, and very soon after the publication of the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, which appears from the date in the book itself, to have taken place in November, 1517, we may probably attribute this letter to the last week of the same month. We have no clue to the identity of this correspondent, who appears to have risen to a position of some eminence, or to the reason for his name being erased from the address.

EPISTLE 696. Deventer MS.; C. 1660 (245).

Erasmus to * * * *

Reverend Father, a short time ago a bad attack of catarrh begrudged me the sight of your Lordship †; and indeed the same attack has stolen me from myself for nearly a month; for I seem deprived of myself, when I am shut out from my usual habits of study. Being now by God's goodness restored to myself, I am glad to have you also restored to me, so that the same person, whom as a boy I loved,—being not much older myself, when he was the partner of my studies and enlisted under the same captain,—I may now be permitted to respect and venerate as a patron and chieftain both in learning and in virtue.

I send, meantime, our Paraphrase upon the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, which is our latest offspring; for, being now employed in the most troublesome of all literary labours, I mean, in the revision of the text of the New Testament, I am wont to refresh my mind with such relaxations, when tempted by satiety to steal away from work. They thus serve as my ball or my die, sending me back with fresh vigour to my task.

† tuam mihi invidit Amplitudinem.

Perhaps I may deal with the other Epistles in the same way, if I find this first taste is not displeasing to the palates of my readers. For it is wonderful, how much hazard there is, even in these matters; so that it often happens that where you expect the most approbation, you carry away a poor return; and on the other hand, where you expect no favour at all, you come in for a great amount of praise.

Farewell, most distinguished Father, and write the name of Erasmus among the number of your clients.

Louvain, [November] 1517.*

The following epistle of Erasmus, addressed to Count Hermann of Neuenaar, or Nuenar, was written in answer to a letter received the day before, some six weeks after its date. This letter of the Count does not appear to have been preserved.

EPISTLE 697. Deventer MS.; C. 1644 (210).

Erasmus to Count Nuenar.†

Most distinguished Count, your letter, written on St. Luke's day, has been received by me on the eve of St. Andrew,—‡ such was the speedy flight of that choice messenger of ours! To reply in few words,—I applaud the purpose of the friend about whom you write, but do not see how I can myself be of use to him, knowing as I do my own inexperience; but there will be no lack of zeal and good intention on my part, especially in the service of such a friend. I am living at the Lilian School, the Head of

* Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

† Comiti a Nova Aquila Erasmus Rot. S. P.

‡ St. Luke's day, 18 October; St. Andrew's, 30 November.

which is a person with a natural aptitude for the best learning and accomplishments. There will be no difficulty in finding a place for your friend here as a guest, if only what room there is be good enough for him.

Under the will of Busleiden, lately deceased, professorships are to be instituted here for the gratuitous teaching of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. And Reuchlin's friend, Matthew,* whom you know, is already here, to undertake the Hebrew lecture for a fixed salary,—a man who seems to me to be extremely learned in his own subject. There will meantime be no lack of instructors in Greek.

We are fully occupied with study, especially in the revision of the New Testament; but I wish I had never put my hand to it. If studies are to be upon the present footing, sleep is preferable; nevertheless we must play out the play.

I hear that you have yourself become a Professor, both of Greek and Hebrew, and congratulate Letters, if they have begun to be handled by such men,† having been shamelessly contaminated by certain teachers you wot of,—apes in the lion's skin.‡

The Bishop of Utrecht has written to me, that he intends to send for me, I do not know with what intention; but I have quite made up my mind not to change my nest this winter.

I wrote to you lately by Banisius, but do not know whether you have had my letter. Farewell, most accomplished Count. Every good wish to Venantius, and also to Cæsarius. You love the latter, and I should like you to love him still more.

Louvain, St. Andrew's day (30 November),§ 1517.

* Matthew Adrian. See Epistle, 656, p. 98.

† Si a talis [*read* talibus] viris tractari cœperint.

‡ per istos quosdam τοὺς ἐν τῇ λεοντῇ πιθήκους.

§ Natali S. Andreae, *Deventer MS.* 30 Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

Venantius appears to have been a friend residing at this time in Cologne, of whom we otherwise know nothing. Cæsarius had written to Erasmus from that city two months before,—Epistle 648,—to which Erasmus had answered by Epistle 673.

On the same St. Andrew's day Erasmus writes a few lines to More. We may infer from the opening words of congratulation, which I understand in an ironical sense, that More was still detained at Calais by some business of the English Government. The second clause appears also to call for some comment. Perhaps Erasmus only meant to claim for his *Παράφρασις*, that,—as the preposition *παρά* was intended to indicate,—it proceeded fairly *alongside* of the original, although in another sense the same preposition might imply that it went *beyond* it. The book appears to have been issued from Thierry Martens' press in the last week of November. See Epistles 695, 696. More's *Utopia*, to which there is an allusion in the last line of the following letter, was now in the Basel press; and the edition produced by Froben in 1518 is a charming book. See a note in our second volume, p. 432.

EPISTLE 698. Deventer MS.; C. 1644 (212).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

I congratulate you on residing at the sea-side, as you seem to me to be now doing!

I send you the book of Paraphrase, rightly so entitled.*

I have not had the opportunity of seeing Thomas Linacre's *Lucubrations*, though I have asked Lupset for them more than once.

Peter Gillis's father is now dead. Peter is fairly well.

We are hard at work upon books and writing. If we can once get clear of this troublesome kind of studies, we shall hope to pass some time in more agreeable fields.

* libellum Paraphraseos, καὶ ἀληθῶς Παραφράσεως. Παρά. Beside, beyond. *Greek Lexicon*. See the introductory comment above.

Nothing is now brought from Lefèvre, but I hear that he is teeming with something. I am not afraid of anything from him, and only fear, that some disciple may be put forward in his place, with whom I should not care to cross swords.

I have written already to ask you not to do anything with the Archbishop of Canterbury about the redemption of the pension.

We have sent a messenger from this place to Basel ; and from him we shall learn for certain about your book and mine. Farewell, dearest More.

Louvain, St. Andrew's day (30 November), 1517.*

After the frequent interchange of letters in the preceding year, the correspondence of Erasmus with Budé appears to have been reduced to small proportions ; and Erasmus, in a short note (Epistle 660) despatched about a month before the time we have now reached, had begged his correspondent to relieve his conscience by writing. No letter having arrived in answer to this appeal, Erasmus sends another short note.

EPISTLE 699. Farrago, p. 49 ; Ep. iii. 56 ; C. 273 (280).

Erasmus to Budé.

After the showers of letters with which I used to be overwhelmed, whence, I pray, this silence, so sudden and so prolonged ? I am glad, if you are devoting yourself to the explanation of the Pandects ; but still I do not suppose you are so busy, as not to have time to let me know in a few words what I ask. If you fail to do this, I shall infer, that either you have taken offence, or that former spirt was a

* Natali Andreae, Louanii. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 30. Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

jest. If you are offended, pray explain what the grievance is, so that I may either set it right, or at any rate be cautious in future. If that drama of letters was a farce, I should like to recognize its nature. Farewell, most learned Budé.

Louvain, St. Andrew's day (30 November), 1517.*

On the same day Erasmus approaches, with a similar object, another of his distinguished correspondents. Not having heard from Lefèvre in acknowledgment of the copy of the *Apologia* which had been sent to him (see p. 53), Erasmus adds a short note with a view of inviting a not too hostile reply. It must be said in Erasmus's favour, that, though he could not leave the controversy as it was, he appears to have been sincerely anxious, that it should not lead to a personal quarrel.

EPISTLE 700. Deventer MS. ; C. 1644 (211).

Erasmus to James Lefèvre.

I have already sent you (by some Divine) the Apology in which I answer your disputation, or rather your indictment. If you find any fault with my reply, you must impute it to yourself. There were so many things, in what you wrote, and so grievous, that I neither could nor ought to pass them without notice ; and that is what is thought and said by all who have read them. If you reply, I beg you not to forget, what is becoming to Lefèvre, however little consideration you may think due to our friendship, which I for my part certainly regard as of some importance. You see the majority of people afflicted with the mania of evil-speaking ; but do not let us give any handle to men of that character. I can allow myself to be taught,—I can submit to be cen-

* Louanij, natali diui Andreæ, ANNO M. D. XVII. *Farrago.*

sured ; but to be charged with impiety against Christ,—that I will not bear, as I do not deserve it.

Farewell, best of men, and, as we heartily love you, love us still as you are wont to do.

Louvain, 30 November, 1517.*

The correspondent addressed in the following epistle was a friend of Erasmus's boyhood, possibly an old school-fellow at Deventer. We may conclude from this letter, that Pyrrhus, as he is named, was at this time still in Holland, within reach of his father; but it appears from a letter of Erasmus to Andrea Alciati, dated at Basel, 14 December, 1521, C. 670, that Pyrrhus had then lately died at Milan, whither, if the war had not made travelling unsafe, Erasmus would gladly have gone to see him, both on account of an old attachment, and because he had heard that some of his own early writings, which he wished to recover and destroy, were or had lately been in the possession of this old friend. The following short note acknowledges a letter received from him, which has not been preserved.

EPISTLE 701. Deventer MS. ; C. 1645 (213).

Erasmus to Pyrrhus.

Your letter was charming. I am right glad to hear that you are flourishing, and that your father is still vigorous.

I had no repugnance for France ; but it was not yet safe for me at that time to talk of going away from here, while the conditions offered me there were not sufficiently definite. And somehow or other that wonderful stir that there was at first about inviting me thither, has suddenly calmed down. Only Budé had added in his letter, that there was a sore place of some kind below, in which that William, by sur-

* Lovanio 30. Novembris, Anno 1517. C.

name Little, the King's Confessor, was concerned.* What this may have been, I do not yet know.

Farewell, with your excellent parent, your charming wife and sweet children. Give our greetings to those who love us.

Louvain, St. Andrew's day (30 November), 1517.†

William le Petit, who is named above with some appearance of suspicion, is mentioned in epistles of Budé and of Cop some ten months earlier, as having recommended Erasmus to the favour of the French King. See vol. ii. pp. 469, 473.

The following letter, which has no date in Farrago, and only a date of year in later collections, and which would perhaps have been better assigned to an earlier place in the year, may in its terms be regarded as an answer to Epistle 490, dated in the December of the previous year. See vol. ii. p. 449. But it appears that Vitré had written to Erasmus a later letter, which had never reached Erasmus's hands, in which, as he had been informed,—apparently by some message through a friend,—Vitré had begged for an introduction to the Bishop of Paris.

EPISTLE 702. Farrago, p. 151; Epist. vi. 17; C. 289 (294).

Erasmus to Peter Vitré.

It has turned out well, my excellent Vitré, that our exposition, such as it was, has wrung so friendly and so copious a letter from you. I recognise, not without pleasure, your old affection for us, and am glad you are safe and well. I might be sorry that you are torn asunder with so many troublesome affairs, if they were not of a kind, to which any true Christian might well be ready to sacrifice his life.

* adjecerat, quod attineret ad Guilielmum illum πῆν ἐπικλησιν Μικρὸν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμολογήσεων Βασιλικῶν, subesse ὑποῦλον τι.

† Lovanii Natali diui Andreæ. Deventer MS. Lovanio 30 Novembris, 1517. C.

But I congratulate you on your courage, sufficient as it is for so many labours,—what is lacking in bodily strength being supplied by mental ardour.

I must tell you that your last letter never reached me. If you will let me know what the business is, for which you want a recommendation to the Bishop of Paris, I will most readily do what you wish. Please return for me the greeting of Balneus, the Dean of Tours ; I must be a worthless man indeed, if I fail to love a person who is among the chief patrons of learning and merit, and an ungrateful one, too, if I do not return his regard, when he is the first to challenge my friendship.

Farewell, sweetest Vitré.

[Louvain, 1517.]

The correspondent, Petrus Viterius, who is here addressed in terms not only friendly but affectionate, may probably be assumed to be the same person, who some eighteen years later, 12 Feb. 1536, was a legatee in Erasmus's will, where the surname has been read as Veterius.

CHAPTER XLV.

Continued residence of Erasmus at Louvain, December, 1517. Correspondence with Gerard of Nimeguen, Paulus Bombasius, Baer, Capito, Beatus Rhenanus, Budé and others. Epistles 703 to 719.

OUR first epistle dated in the month of December, 1517, is addressed to Erasmus by Gerard of Nimeguen, the Bishop of Utrecht's chaplain, who had lately written to the same address a short letter in the name of his patron. See Epistle 677. The letter of Erasmus, here mentioned in the first sentence, which had been sent with a book, was no doubt Epistle 653, which accompanied a copy of the *Querela Pacis*, with its Dedication to the Bishop. The promise of serviceable friendship on the part of the Bishop and the approval of his Council do not appear to have led to any practical result.

EPISTLE 703. Auctarium, p. 208 ; Ep. iii. 41 ; C. 273 (281).

Gerardus Noviomagus to Erasmus.

Your former letter reached me about an hour or two before we started from the town of Kempen on our way to Deventer. I was then busy packing the luggage ; nevertheless I showed our Prelate both your letter and the book, and he ordered me to write to you in his name, which I accordingly did. I was too shy to venture to write to you on my own account, thinking myself unworthy to write to so great a person. I know your good nature and accessibility,

but you do not know my bashfulness and timidity in writing letters. I have a most veracious witness of this in our candid friend, John Borssele.*

The book of the Complaint of Peace has been fully approved not only by the Bishop, but also by the learned men who are of his Council, and by Philip du Mont, Proctor of his Court, who are all heartily your friends. I assisted the Bishop in reading † the letter you wrote him. He thanked you, and laughed at what you added about dormice and cuckoos. I have also read to him the letter you sent to me, and he was struck with what you say about the benefice of Erasmus the lawyer, whom he believes to be in Spain.

You may promise yourself, most learned Erasmus, in your relations with Philip,—our Prelate and your friend,—everything you can expect, from a most friendly prince. Scarcely a day passes without mention of you; and he intends to send for you next Lent when the swallows have come back, and to show by his acts, how much he esteems you and appreciates your erudition. Meantime you will sometimes write to him; and I shall not allow your claims upon him to be lost or forgotten.

I have often and often had experience of Naef's friendly character, and I congratulate you on having such a host,‡ with such companions. Farewell.

The feast of St. Nicolas § (6 Dec.) 1517.

Paulus Bombasius, whose acquaintance Erasmus had made in the winter of 1506 at Bologna (where Bombasius was then a Professor),

* For John Borssele, see vol. ii. 129, 227, and in this volume Epistle 713.

† Praelégi episcopo.

‡ We may infer that Erasmus was still living in the Lillian College as the guest of John Naef (Joannes Nævius). See pp. 36, 116.

§ Profesto die divi Nicolai. *Deventer M.S.* 6 Decembris, Anno 1517. C. The ordinary sense of *Profestus dies* would seem to be *working day*.

had afterwards resided for a time at Rome, but was now at Zurich in Switzerland, in attendance upon the Roman Nuncio there (see vol. i. pp. 427, 428, ii. 20). From this town he writes to Erasmus a letter dated on the 6th of December, 1517. In his postscript he mentions the recent revolutions in the East, where the Turkish Sultan Selim I. had conquered the Mameluke rulers of Syria and Egypt, and annexed those countries to his empire.

EPISTLE 704. Auctarium, p. 33 ; Epist. ii. 23 ; C. 274 (283).

Paulus Bombasius to Erasmus.

There are many reasons which deter me from writing to you at any length, and this reason above all, that I am afraid of spoiling, by an ill-advised garrulity, the favour which I have earned by holding my tongue so long, and abstaining entirely from any interruption of your more important occupations. But I have no doubt, when you hear that I am actually in Switzerland,—“Jupiter of Portents,” you will say, “what on earth has Bombasius to do with Switzerland? What chance has transported him thither?” I cannot, my dear Erasmus, make any other answer than this, that a stroke of fortune, quite Herculean, except that it has no touch of glory in it, has torn me away against my will from that agreeable Roman residence, which I preferred even to my native land. The Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, in whose service I was there, ordered me to accompany his nephew (on his brother's side) in his journey to Switzerland as Nuncio Apostolic, and I, in my shyness and timidity, did not dare to decline, however often I might repeat to myself that verse of Homer,

Wherefore, unhappy man, the sunlight leave?*

But if it was any sin of mine, I have been paying the

* Τίπτε' αἶψ' ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἡλίου.

penalty for full four months, and, unless some Deity shall intervene, must continue to pay it for many months more, and that too, deprived of my great comfort,—I mean of our Pace, who, while he was for a long time at Constance, so consoled me with his frequent and most loving letters, that I seemed to myself to be at Athens! But why trouble you with this, as if you had abundance of leisure to be listening to my woes? One source of refreshment I still find, and that is in your vigils and labours, the constant study of which beguiles to some extent the tediousness of this locality.

Among other things I have lately read your *Apologia in Fabrum*, of which Beatus Rhenanus has sent on for my reading the copy you sent to him; and nothing,—I have thought,—could be more learned. But Lefèvre, whom, on the faith of his general reputation and especially of your own praise of him, I have always believed to be a no less sensible than learned person, has surprised me greatly by attacking you with an amount of ill humour, which seems to show a forgetfulness, not only of good letters but of common sense. As to the higher learning, I do not venture myself to pronounce any opinion,—the cobbler must stick to his last,*—but as to Greek and Latin composition, not having any acquaintance with his writings, I was much amused at what the man says about yours; and indeed, I thought him in some respects not much unlike that scholar of ours, who interpreted *παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον* by the words *apud Hesiodum*. But you have cleverly taken off his mask, and vindicated yourself most charmingly. I hear he is now meditating some rejoinder; but I do not at all believe he will carry it out, as I know that the defeated cock is not wont to crow. At any rate, whatever he chooses to do, he has encountered a Hercules.

* ne quid supra calceum sutor. See Erasmi Adagia, Chil. I. Cent. vi. Proverb 16. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

I congratulate you upon all your writings having so high a reputation everywhere, and especially at Rome, where everything is subject to censure ; and there they are so sought after by all the learned, as not to yield even to the ancient authors,—while there is nothing in the writer's life to impede their authority.

But I must now say farewell, my Erasmus. Be happy and do not forget your Bombasius.

P.S.* The king of the Turks, having obtained possession of the whole of Syria and of Egypt, has returned to Constantinople, and is now threatening Christendom. The Pope is asking assistance from the Swiss, and summons all Christian princes to aid. Marcus Musurus, lately made Bishop of Monovasia, who passed the last autumn at Rome, has now gone the way of all flesh, as our Palæotus had done eight months before. Farewell again.

From Zurich, a district of Switzerland, 6 December, 1517.†

The following epistle of Erasmus, which was no doubt despatched to Basel with the letters which follow, appears to be an answer to a communication of Baer, who had already sent to Erasmus some critical observations upon the *Apologia ad Fabrum*. The manuscript of that work had probably been submitted to him by Froben, who was himself rather disposed to side with Lefèvre in this dispute.

* We may infer that the writer, having before the despatch of the above letter, received the last startling news from the East, and also a report of the death of Musurus, added a postscript, to forward the intelligence to Erasmus. Marcus Musurus, a Cretan by origin, with whom Erasmus was intimate at Padua in 1508, had been appointed by Pope Leo to be Archbishop of Monovasia in the Morea, part of which was still subject to Venice. See vol. i. pp. 31, 449, ii. p. 545. There is no sign of Musurus having resided upon his Greek see. I conclude from the above letter, that he died at Rome early in the winter of 1517.

† Ex Turrego, Helvetiorum pago, 6 Decembris, Anno 1517. C. The word *pagus* seems to be more properly used for a district ; here perhaps for a town.

It should be remembered that Lewis Baer was one of Erasmus's chief friends at Basel, and Dean of the University there.

EPISTLE 705. Deventer MS.; C. 1645 (214).

Erasmus to Lewis Baer.

The bearer, who is leaving this place at daybreak to-morrow, has come to me late this evening. I have therefore had no time to read over the *Apologia*, which I submit to your judgment. But unless I guess wrong, you have either not read it all, or if you have, you must have been attending to something else. I learned thirty years ago that Christ was not made up of two natures. It would be strange therefore, if I ever spoke of him as "composed"; indeed throughout the disputation I always maintain the singleness of the Hypostasis.*

I want you therefore to read the little book again, when you have time to do so, and then take counsel with Wolfgang, and alter what,—having regard to my interest,—you think proper. I am not anxious about the prodigious language of the Parisian divines. That nonsense, you will see, is for the most part out of date. Cambridge is a changed place, and this School detests those chill subtleties, which make more for disputation than for piety. Nevertheless I do what lies in my power, and shall be glad to help every one forward, if allowed to do so.

I welcome that kind feeling for me on your part, of which I have long been aware; while I see how little theological knowledge you attribute to me by your letter, when you discuss in it at such length the very matters which are explained in my book! I had sent the corrected copy of

* *Hypostasis* is the Greek word used in the Athanasian Creed, where the Latin and English versions,—perhaps not very happily,—read *Persona* and *Person*.

the *Apologia* to Schürer, before your letter was delivered to me.

In the Epistles which have been published, there is nothing, I think, which will prejudice your reputation; but that publication was done by Peter Gillis, while I was paying my respects to my patrons in England. For my own part I had rather it had not taken place; but what cannot be altered must be endured.*

I see that you are very kindly disposed to Lefèvre, when you say that I have been showing my ill humour; but you must admit first of all, that he had no ground for his attack. And yet see, I entreat you, what odious suggestions he often makes against me; and compare the moderation, shown in my reply, with the spirit of his unprovoked assault,—unless you think it an ill-tempered thing to reply at all! I love Lefèvre, while I hate my own Apology, and the necessity which has compelled me to write it; but he certainly had little regard to the character of candour, for which he has hitherto been chiefly commended! Under these circumstances I did not think it necessary to devote much pains to the matter in question; and without undertaking to discuss the problem, which may be the better reading, or any other question relating to Christ's Hypostasis, I merely repel the accusation of impiety, madness and folly, which he brings against me throughout his whole disputation in such an odious way, as to surprise even those persons who are most in his favour.

Farewell, most learned Baer, and continue to treat us with your accustomed kindness.

Louvain, St. Nicolas' day, (6 December), 1517.†

* See vol. ii. pp. 406, 408; where it will be seen that the publication by Gillis was not so unauthorized as Erasmus would have his correspondent suppose.

† Lovan. Nat. Nicolai. *Deventer MS.* 6 Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

In a letter addressed to Guolfangus Faber Capito (Wolfgang Schmidt, or Guolfangus Fabritius Capito, as by Erasmus's suggestion he was called in his later correspondence; see vol. ii. pp. 379, 505), our author again discusses the object of his *Apologia ad Fabrum*, of which a copy had been sent to Froben, and another copy, apparently at the same time, to Schürer, the printer of Strasburg. The copy sent to Basel had,—probably upon Erasmus's request,—been read by Baer, who had already addressed to the author some critical observations upon it. See the last Epistle.

EPISTLE 706. Deventer MS.; C. 1646 (215).

Erasmus to Guolfangus Faber Capito.

I have scarcely time to write these lines,—and still less leisure to read the *Apologia* over again, as the departure of the messenger is taking place so soon after the delivery of your letter.*

Within fourteen days after reading Lefèvre's criticism I had finished my Apology; the sole object of which is to repel the charge of impiety and blasphemy, which I know not by whose instigation, he had brought against me.

* * * * *

As to what you write, that Christ is said by me to be 'composed',—although

A man I am,
And nothing human can disclaim as mine,

still I should be much surprised if there were really anything of that kind in my writings, as I certainly knew five and twenty years ago, that in that Hypostasis the human nature was so united to the Divine, that there was no putting of

* adeo subitus est abitus γραμματοφύρου a redditis litteris.

two together ; and throughout the whole dispute I maintain the single nature of the Hypostasis.*

Either I am quite mistaken, or Baer has not read my *Apologia* ; or if he has, he has read it gaping, or while busy with something else. He says, that, according to what I have written, the word *Christ* may be taken for the other nature, that is the human ; whereas, in opposition to Lefèvre, who wants this name to be taken for both, I say it is better taken for the first, namely the divine, to which however the human is united. And I proceed (without necessity) to show that the old authors misused the words of Hypostasis for words expressing natures,† while I deny that this is done by me.

I am now sending the book‡ as before revised, in the same condition in which I have sent it to Schürer, since Baer writes me word that the beginning is missing.

As to the Parisian subtleties,§—I am not disposed to trouble myself much about them ; you will soon see a great part of them exploded. They are already condemned here, and at Cambridge they are banished.||

Matthew, your teacher, has been received here as Professor of Hebrew ; I wish your Lexicon was published.

About the *Apologia*, please act the part of a friend, as you are wont to do ; ¶ and you may expect me to be serviceable in return. I have sent Schürer a copy like that

* See Epistle 705, and note, p. 177.

† pro naturarum vocabulis.

‡ Sending his *Apologia* to Basel.

§ De argutiis Parisiensibus.

|| Cantabrigiæ exsulant. I have thought it better to read *Cantabrigia* exsulant. We have, fortunately for the reputation of this University, a parallel passage in Epistle 705, where the language is a little varied. See p. 177.

¶ Erasmus means, as I take it, to ask his correspondent to overlook the Press, and correct or supply any obvious error or omission. See pp. 183, 184.

I have sent you ; and you will be able to send him your notes, to be added to that impression, if Froben does not print them. I suspect the latter rather sides with Lefèvre, as he makes the observation, that I have lost my temper with him, whereas, after such an odious and causeless provocation, I still refrain from any harsh language. You write truly, that it will be a charming spectacle for some persons to see Erasmus at war with Lefèvre. But what was I to do? Should I go on without any redress, with such a stigma upon me? For the other chatterers I do not much care ; but in what you urge you are acting a friendly part ; it is indeed easy to do mischief.

I have almost finished the New Testament. When that is published, I shall go to sleep, or sing a song to myself and the Muses,—if this is the return of gratitude allotted to those who bestow so much pains upon the advancement of learning.

I have lately written by another messenger, and do not doubt you have received my letter. Take care of your health, most learned Capito.

Louvain, St. Nicolas' day (6 December), 1517.*

Wolfgang Lachner was,—it will be remembered,—the father-in-law of Froben, and the chief manager of the Basel Press.

The Francis of the following letter, despatched from Louvain to Basel, was, we may suppose, the same travelling bookseller, with whom Erasmus had had dealings before. Vol. ii. pp. 135, 214.

EPISTLE 707. Deventer MS. ; C. 1646 (216).

Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus.

You answer in Lachner's name in such a way, as to give no answer at all to the question I most wanted him to

* Lov. Nat. Nicolai, *Deventer MS.* Louanio, 6 Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

answer,—I mean about the value to be put on the copies, so that I may not have so much to do with Francis, who, as far as his tongue is concerned, has a quantity of money ready for me ; that is to say by always bringing me the best books, —to save me the trouble of ordering them for myself! If Lachner had valued the copies at not more than twenty florins, I should have been satisfied ; only I did want some valuation to be made, so that I might be quite independent of Francis.

Another trouble was, that at the last Fair they did not send any of my *Lucubrations* at all, though we were panting for them here. I fear the corrector is not fortunate, or else not industrious ; and that is especially a matter for Froben to see to. I cannot make out by anybody's letter, whether Froben has received my translation of the second book of Theodore with the first corrected.* I was more interested in the publication of More's *Utopia* and *Epigrams* than in my own affairs ; but, although I have taken so much pains to get them to do this, the matter seems some how or other to have come to a standstill.†

I was going to send my *Paraphrase* to Basel, a book which I guessed would be a saleable one. But when I saw, that nothing at all was being brought, I suspected that they were too much burdened already, and so I entrusted it to the press here. I send even now a copy which has been in some measure revised by me ; but it will not be fair to reprint immediately what this poor fellow has in his press, who has never printed anything already printed by them,—except the little book *De Principe*, which he did print by stealth, when I was away in England, and on that occasion

* The Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza. Erasmus's corrected translation of the first book, with a new translation of the second, had been sent to Basel early in November. See pp. 126, 136.

† Erasmus was expecting a new edition of the *Utopia* from the Basel press. This does not appear to have been issued till the next March.

I scolded the man ; and I take great pains, that he should not interfere with the Basel Press, which he certainly will not do by any authority of mine.

Pace writes from Marseilles, that the *Antibarbari* has been taken to Rome. I have some inkling of a change in Pace's disposition, although he keeps up a semblance of his old friendship.

The question about the Utopia I submit to your own judgment. The *Paludanica* may be omitted.* About the mention of the letters in Peter Gillis's preface, there is no reason for you to be uneasy. Owing to your occupations you have so little to say about the Epigrams, that you hold your tongue altogether !

I had sent the *Apologia*, revised by me, to Schürer at Strasburg, but with this proviso, that if he did not like it, he should send it on to Basel. I have also sent him *Quintus Curtius*, not expecting that at Basel there was any room for more, when nothing at all was coming out.

As for correcting the Epistles, there is no time to do it now, as the courier has this evening warned me, that he is going off to-morrow morning. If they defer the publication, I will send a copy with some additional letters ; if not, they may do as they please.

I have lately sent several letters by a safe messenger, and do not doubt he has delivered them to Wolfgang Faber.

I received your last letter on St. Nicholas' eve.† There has therefore been no time for reading over the *Apologia*. And yet I do wonder, where they found, that I have spoken

* The first edition of the *Utopia* printed by Thierry Martens of Louvain included a commendatory letter and a copy of verses by Joannes Paludanus (Van der Broeck). It was also preceded by an Epistle of Peter Gillis to Jerome Busleiden, here called Peter Gillis's Preface, as well as a dedication of the work by More to Gillis. See our second volume, p. 455, and *Utopia*, edited by Lupton, Introduction, pp. ix. lxvi. note.

† Yesterday. See the date of this letter.

of Christ as "composed," when that is what I have taken the greatest pains to avoid in the whole controversy, and in so many places I have said things which plainly negative that opinion.

I quite conclude from Baer's letter, that he had not read the whole *Apologia*, and is rather inclined in favour of Lefèvre. This Theologian, if I am to call him so, suffers somewhat from want of leisure,* for he writes, that I have said that the word Christ is to be taken for the human nature, whereas I have most clearly explained that it is to be taken for the other rather than for both, that is for the Divine, which had however assumed the Human. But if there is really anything of that kind,—which I do not believe,—let it be altered at his discretion; there are Theologians here, who would have little consideration for the author, if they noticed any such passage. When I have read it over again, I will write with more certainty.

Bombasius was always more friendly than polite; but I am surprised if he has now learned to be haughty at Rome. Pace, in his letter to me, makes much of his book, entitled *De Fructu Studiorum*, cited by you. He has sent an Epistle, in which he defends me against Dorpius, but in such a style, that one might be ashamed to produce it in his name.

Please commend me to Master Lachner and to Froben; and that will do as well as a letter. It may be that next spring I shall visit you again. The Archbishop of Mayence has written me a letter with his own hand, full of kindness. But as my going there is uncertain, I had rather not have it generally talked about.

Do, my Beatus, take the best care of your own health.

Louvain, St. Nicolas' day, [6 December, 1517].†

* neque prorsus vacat illo [*read illi*] . . . theologico.

† Lou. Nat. Divi Nicolai. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 6, Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

The following letter is addressed to Paschasius Berselius, who appears to have been a Secretary, or Chaplain, of the Prince Bishop of Liège, Erard de la Marck. See Epistle 719.

EPISTLE 708. Deventer MS. ; C. 1647 (217).

Erasmus to Paschasius Berselius.

In return, excellent Sir, for so many triple sheets so often repeated,* I utter a prayer, that every thing may turn out, once for all, as you desire. From your most gracious Prince I have nothing at all to solicit,—except that I should wish, *first, to be made known, and then, to be commended to a Hero unanimously praised, especially since by the promotion of Aleander, we may be said to have raised his standard as a votary of Literature.* If Baptista is friendly to us, he maintains the character of his brother,† and I beg you again and again to take every pains to present my greeting to him. Pray commend me also in no ordinary terms to Master Leo,‡ an old and singularly respected patron of mine. I think myself lucky in being quartered in his chamber ; and somehow or other every thing seems to assume a more smiling aspect, when it occurs to me that I am here by his invitation and as his guest. You will also give my salutation to Gaspard, who appeared to me to be not only an erudite man,—no new quality in a Divine,—but also what is not so common, an agreeable and witty

* Pro tot toties repetitis ternionibus.

† Erasmus was at this time on friendly terms with Jerome Aleander, who had a brother named Baptista. They are mentioned together in a letter addressed by Erasmus to Joannes Vlattenus some years later (11 Feb. 1525) when the relations of the parties were not so friendly. C. 1705 (300).

‡ Domino Leoni. Master or Doctor Leo appears to have been a dignitary of Louvain, not at this time in residence there, but probably at the Court of Brussels with the Bishop and Berselius.

person. I wonder at my hearing nothing from Andrew Hochstraten.*

When you challenge me with presents from the Court, I shall not in my present circumstances attempt to rival you; I only send my Paraphrase by way of instalment, to bind me closer to you. You will pardon my writing so negligently to a friend whom I have no business to neglect; but, beside the studious efforts by which I am just now distracted, I am overwhelmed with so many packets of letters from every quarter, that with all my pains and all my time, I cannot satisfy this one demand. Nevertheless I trust that I shall make you understand that the name of Paschasius is inscribed among my friends of no ordinary estimation. Farewell.

Louvain, the morrow of the Conception (9 December), 1517.†

A few days after the Basel Courier had left Louvain, Erasmus, finding another messenger bound for the same places, added a second letter to Wolfgang Capito (dated three days after the last), in which the 'composite' nature, attributed to Christ (see pp. 179, 184), is again discussed with special reference to the writer's controversy with Lefèvre. The following passage, with which the Epistle concludes, has a personal interest.

EPISTLE 709. Deventer MS.; C. 1648 (218).

Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito.

* * * * *

I have written twice to Lefèvre, and he has not returned any answer; I suppose he has something in hand. I have

* See vol. ii. pp. 134, 237.

† Lov, Postrid. concept. Deiparae. Deventer MS.

warned him, if he replies, to remember what is becoming to Lefèvre. If he treats me with as little civility as he has done before, he will find me not quite so polite ; perhaps,—to use the phrase of Horace,—

Thinking to close his teeth on something soft,
Will find it hard ! *

I am obliged by Baer's hint, that I should keep on protesting, that I submit what I may say to the judgment of the Church. That indeed I do ; though it is rather a sign of bad faith, to use a multitude of cautions. I suppose no good man writes with any other intention ; but it is sometimes not quite clear, where the Church is ! I shall endeavour, not knowingly to write anything unworthy of Christ, and I do not think that the Christian faith depends upon those thorny subtleties. Neither do I undertake, that there shall be nothing, against which any cavil may be raised ; as that is what has never yet happened to any writer either ancient or modern. I have wished you † to know my mind ; and what remains I now submit to your judgment. Farewell, most learned Wolfgang.

I wrote a few days ago by the Basel courier. Show this letter, if you please, to Master Baer, to whom I wish to be commended.

Louvain, 9 December, 1517.‡

The following epistle of Budé, dated at Paris, appears to have been sent for some reason to Mayence, from which place it was forwarded to Erasmus at Louvain by the care of Hutten. See Epistle 743,

* *Fragili quærens illidere dentem, offendet solido.* Horat. *Sat.* II. i. 77.

† Vos. This latter part, at least, of the letter appears to be addressed with plural pronouns to Baer and the writer's other Basel friends, as well as to Capito. See the last sentence of the letter.

‡ Lovanio 9. Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

addressed by Erasmus to Budé from Louvain on the 22nd of February, 1518, which was written in answer to the letter before us. Several sentences in this Epistle are written in Greek. These passages are indicated in our Translation by *italics*, and a short specimen of the original language is given in a note below.

EPISTLE 710. Auctarium, p. 3 ; Ep. ii. 20 ; C. 298 (304).

William Budé to Erasmus.

You have written me two notes, in which you wonder at my sudden silence, after all the trouble that had been taken in constantly sending letters to and fro,—as if there could not possibly be any default in this matter when it was your turn ! I have neither inclination nor time, to wrangle ; or else I want the courage to challenge you afresh. But this I say, that after that longest letter of yours, I think I have had one from you, I mean the one you wrote to me when you were writing to the King,—and scarcely anything else that can fairly be called a letter. Since that time I have written you two letters (one of them for the most part in Greek) and have received in return two, or at most three,—not letters, but sheets of papers ingeniously folded and sealed so as to look like letters, with scarcely anything in them ! If you did receive mine, you cannot be acquitted of Lethean forgetfulness, when you ask me now, what has been done *about the King, and about the Bishop*.* Of the

* The words in italics here and below are Greek in the original. And it may be of interest to some readers to transcribe a line or two of Budé's Greek, as a specimen of the language acquired by a scholar of the Renaissance, not for the study of books only, but for his own use. See p. 189. Οὗτος γὰρ κελεύει με γράφειν πρὸς σε, ὡς προστάξαντος δὴ πον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἕως μὲν τὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τῆς σου ἐν προσδοκίᾳ ἦν, πολλὺς ἐπέκειτό μοι, ζητῶν, τί περὶ τοῦ Ἑράσμου. It should be added that these lines are taken from the London edition of Epistles, and have not been compared with the original text of the *Auctarium*. It may be suspected in any case, that the accents are due to the editor.

letters I have mentioned, I entrusted one to Bade,* and the other to some young men who had brought a letter or note from you, and who waited by my request at my house until I had written an answer, which they engaged to take care it should reach you. In that letter I said, that I had been deserted by those who seemed to idolise *your name*, on which account I almost declared war against them. The chief of these was one William,† so that you must not suppose that all of that name *are of a friendly mind*; though I suspect him of no deeper crime than that of not persisting in his own purpose. *For he, having bidden me write to you, as having a sort of commission from the King to do so, frequently applied to me, while your answer was expected, asking what news there was about Erasmus. "What hopes do you give us?" he would say. "For the King does sometimes of his own accord remember Erasmus."* When I had heard this, in order to stimulate his fancy I gave a suitable answer, having indeed some hope that, if your business was advanced, I should also get my own affairs in a better condition. On this account I have lost favour with several persons, and some have blamed me to my face, saying that I did not perceive, that if your affair came off, both I and others there would be disregarded as you alone would be able to dictate upon matters of literature; while I meantime cheerfully and without any anxiety protested, that I was acting under the King's command, having full confidence in your good feeling. Your letter to the King I handed to him by his own order, translated into French; and when he had read it, he said it was not clear to him from that letter, what your intention was.

* Josse Bade, the printer.

† Unus N. C. It appears from what follows, that the person alluded to was William Petit, the King's Confessor. I have therefore, as the name is especially referred to, ventured to read *Guilielmus* for N. and translate it by William. See vol. ii. pp. 468, 473.

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While this was going on, *the Bishop, who is really, I think, well disposed to you*, was never present ; for it took place in the country, whither I had gone on purpose. On later occasions, he was always in the company ; and afterwards he went to Calais, and so to England, as ambassador. When he returned thence a few days ago, and passed by this city, I went to dine with him. The tables were laid for a great party. I talked of you, and had your letter in my pocket, though I did not show it him. After dinner, when I was coming away, and the Bishop had retired to his inner chamber, Glarean came to pay his respects, and I went back to introduce him,—complying with his request for your sake,—as you had bidden me do so. The man does not give me much trouble, and I see him but rarely.

Hutten has passed this way, a thoroughly good-humoured and courteous man, with an air of nobility and distinction. I should have made up a party to entertain him, if he would have promised to come ; but I first saw him at Ruzé's, where I was invited to dinner without knowing Hutten was there, and next day he went away, promising to return.

Deloin has had a letter written for some time, but has been waiting for mine, that we might send our letters together. Meanwhile I have been staying a long time in the country, and being engaged in business have hitherto put off writing to you. Now I am writing hastily in the morning, being about to leave home, and having received your letter in the country. For immediately after dining with the Bishop I left town ; and the next day the Bishop went to the King.

You bid me write to Tunstall ; but I have nothing to say now, unless he sends me an answer to my long letter ; I should be sorry and indeed deeply grieved, if anything should happen to him. I also wrote to Linacre, but have not had an answer yet,—if indeed he is going to answer, for he had written to me before, and I think the plague has

prevented his writing to me now. What you tell me about Busleiden's bequest or trust, is something new and unusual but quite admirable.

I have lost a brother a few weeks ago ; he was fond of your writings, also learned in Greek, a clergyman and arch-deacon of Troyes. It is on this account that I have to leave home and go there.

*With regard to our letters and discussions haste has been mischievous,—I had almost said, disastrous.** I have read the passage of Lefèvre's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, as you wished me to do, but have not yet read your *Apology*, except by snatches. I know what people's judgment of you both is, but have no need to interpose my own. I have not spoken to Lefèvre since I wrote to you about him last year, pleading his health as an excuse for his not writing to you, for that was what he had told me ; and I scarcely see him once a year. I wish this controversy had not arisen between you ; our Bishop told me, he had first heard of it in England. I trust however that, as you have hitherto fought for truth, so for the future the matter will be wrapt in silence. *For this concerns the credit which you have acquired by your many eloquent dissertations.* It is marvellous how much those who are interested in you regret, that this handle,—for bringing a charge against you both,—has been given to those persons, who think the work you are both doing inconvenient to themselves ; Ruzé among others is extremely sorry. I know how difficult it is to control an impatient pen, etcetera. *But when you aim at suppressing a fair*

* I hope I have caught the meaning of Budé's Greek : Τὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων ἡ σπουδὴ φαύλως νῦν καθέστηκεν *et prope dixerim* ζημιωδῆς. I understand Budé to intimate somewhat obscurely his opinion, that Erasmus had been hasty in finding fault about the cessation of their correspondence, and also in the tone of his pamphlet in answer to Lefèvre, which Budé appears to have thought harsh and even unfair. The later passages in this page and the next, printed in italic type, are also Greek in the original.

argument by any means that come to hand, you seem to be heedless of your reputation. I would not have you much disturbed at what I have said, as if *your character had suffered*, but it is right that you should be warned by a friend, and I must not appear to hold back when I see a friend in danger.

About your adversary, you do not ask me to say what I think ; and I have not that intimacy with him, which would oblige him to submit the matter to my judgment. I therefore gladly abstain from any opinion. As for yourself, you are bound whether you will or not, to abide by my decision, if I choose to insist upon my strict right, in pursuance of the Law of Friendship.* It is therefore only fair, that you should receive *candidly this suggestion of mine*. Farewell.

I think this batch of letters should be suppressed when read, or thrown into the fire. If you want me again to write epistles worthy of publication, challenge me afresh, if you can give yourself a holiday for such trifles. Farewell again.

Paris, the shortest day (12 Dec. 1517.)†

The two following Epistles, dated on the same day, are consecutive in the Deventer Manuscript, and both addressed to the Bishop of Utrecht. In both cases the address seems to be a later and conjectural addition ; but for Epistle 711 it is probably right. It appears

* The writer had no doubt in his mind the following precept of Cicero : *Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sancitur . . . plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas ; eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur.* Cicero de Amicitia, cap. 44.

† *Parisiis die brumæ. Auctarium.* In the date given above I have allowed nine days for the difference between the old Calendar and the new. In Le Clerc's edition an altogether different date is given to this letter, which appears to be borrowed by mistake from the letter of Erasmus written in answer to it,—*Parisiis 22. Februarii, Anno 1518.*

from this letter that Erasmus had been asked,—by or on behalf of his correspondent,—to take part in the education of a youth, in whom the Princely Prelate to whom the letter is addressed was nearly interested. This proposal could not possibly be entertained by Erasmus, whose refusal is couched in the most accommodating and courteous terms.

EPISTLE 711. Deventer MS.; C. 1649 (219).

Erasmus to the Bishop of Utrecht.

Most distinguished Prince, although I am at present more distracted than ever by the work of my studies, and although I have not been wont at any time to find leisure for the education of boys,—so far am I from having any call to undertake such duties now, when I am engaged in the last act of my play,—nevertheless I would not have your Highness suppose, that there is on my part any want of will to gratify my friends. Whatever it is in my power to offer, I will most willingly place at your service. Among those whom I meet at table here, is Master John Borssele,* a Canon of St. Peter's at Middleburg, and a man of well-known integrity as well as erudition, who has had several years' practice in this kind of work, having been instructor to the nephews of the most Reverend Francis Busleiden, Bishop of Besançon, of pious memory; on whose behalf I would venture to offer myself as a surety in every respect, both his age and his character being suitable for an engagement of this sort.

I will myself willingly help, and show the way,—advising, exhorting, and sometimes taking part in the work, so long as I remain at Louvain. For at Easter I shall have to go again to Basel, for the publication of my books. Having

* A letter of Borssele to Erasmus, dated 20 April, 1514 (Epistle 284), is described in vol. ii. p. 129, and others in the same volume, pp. 173, 227.

soaked this mortarful I must eat it all up.* And I shall not be able to come back to this country for the next six months. You see now what both my intentions and my condition of life are ; whatever I can do is at your Highness's service, and I shall not look for any payment, the little provision that I have being to my mind enough ; while I am still resolved to devote what remains of my life to the general advantage.

Farewell, most illustrious Prince, and that not by pedigree alone.

Louvain, St. Lucy's day (13 December), 1517.†

The following Epistle, which is of the same date as the last, and in Le Clerc's edition is, like that, addressed to the Bishop of Utrecht, appears to have been in fact written to the Bishop of Liège. This is shown by the reference to the promotion of Aleander. Compare Epistle 708 addressed to Berselius, who appears to have been in the household of the latter prelate, and Epistle 720, in which Berselius tells Erasmus that he had delivered his letter, with a copy of his Paraphrase, to the Bishop of Liège.

EPISTLE 712. Deventer MS.; C. 1649 (220).

Erasmus to the Bishop of Liège.

Most Reverend Prelate, that I have ventured to address a letter to your Highness, you may well pardon in con-

* *Mortarium hoc intrivi, omne mihi exedendum est.* The expression is borrowed from Terence (*Phormio*, Act III, sc. i.), where Phormio addressing his observation to himself, says :

Ad te summa solum, Phormio, rerum redit :

Tute hoc intristi : tibi omne est exedendum : accingere.

The *mortarium* belongs to Erasmus, not to Terence. And the phrase without the *mortarium* finds a place in the Adages. Chil. I., Cent. i., Proverb 85.

† Lov. Nat. Lucie. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 12. Decemb. An. 1517 . C.

sideration of my attachment to you. That I have done so with little formality, you will impute to your own good nature, of which I have heard from many other persons, and especially from that high priest of all the virtues, Stephen Poncher.* That my letter is short, you will readily excuse in consideration of the labour of my studies, with which at present I am more than ever distracted. To atone for its brevity, I send with it Paul, talking Latin, and that at greater length than he usually speaks. It is with such small recreations, that I refresh myself as I might with a stroll, whenever I am tempted to feel, that I have had enough of the studies in which I am engaged.

For the promotion of Aleander, the devotees of Literature in every country are debtors to your Highness.

Farewell, and write the name of Erasmus among the humblest of your clients.

Louvain, St. Lucy's day (13 December), 1517.†

Jerome Aleander, with whom Erasmus had been intimate at the house of Aldus in Venice as early as 1507 or 1508 (see vol. i. p. 441), appears to have owed his first important preferments to the Bishop of Liège. In January, 1516, he was living at Liège as Canon of the Cathedral and Chancellor of the Bishop. Vol. ii. p. 237. At a later time he rose to a high position in the Church, as Archbishop of Brindisi and Cardinal. The above observation of Erasmus implies, that he had himself a high opinion of his literary abilities.

In Epistle 713 Erasmus takes an opportunity, arising from his having narrowly missed an interview with Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin, to recall himself to the recollection of his old Chief. See vol. i. pp. 92, 291. Having apparently heard, that the Abbot had been somewhat scandalized by the freedom of the *Moria*, which he

* See vol. ii. 471, 478.

† Louanio Nat. Luciae. *Doxenter MS.* Lovanio 13. Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

had been able to read more readily in the French translation than in the original, the author writes a few lines in its defence, in which he pleads, that he is not answerable for what may be found in the French version.

EPISTLE 713. Deventer MS. ; C. 275 (284).

Erasmus to Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin.

Reverend Father, when I was at Ghent the other day, I learned rather late, that your lordship was there, and when I did try to pay my duty to you, I was told that you were gone. I afterwards heard to my very great regret, that you were somewhat out of humour with me,—I think on account of the *Moria*, which; in spite of all I could say or do, George Haloin, a gentleman of distinction, has turned into French, that is, made it his instead of mine, adding, suppressing and altering whatever he chose.

You must remember, that the subject is essentially a humorous one, and that I do not fall foul of any class of men in a malicious spirit, or asperse anybody by name except myself. And finally the work, such as it is, has been approved by all the learned persons in the world,—by Bishops, Archbishops, Kings, and Cardinals, and finally by Pope Leo himself, who read it all through from beginning to end. And, if I had been a little foolish in this book, and if others were offended, I had hoped that your lordship would have stood up alone in my defence,—that is to say, would have retained the character of my old patron, and one by whom I have always been so kindly treated that kindness itself could not be kinder. I cannot therefore yet believe what I have been told about this. I know that a great many groundless stories are bruited about; and I have had many years' experience of your friendly character, in which I have more confidence than in what I hear from others.

I know the difference between St. Bertin and Briselot,* although their names begin with the same letter! In any case I beseech you to continue to love your Erasmus, if only for the reason that you have so long done so. But if I have ever deserved the favour of men like you, I will venture to say,—in self-confidence rather than arrogance,—that I deserve it more than ever now. As to this, perhaps when I am dead, posterity will judge more rightly, although even in this age there are not wanting some persons who see it.

I am living at the Lilian College, to which the bearer of this letter belongs. He is called Thierry, and is a cheerful, clever, and promising young man. Therefore if there is anything in which he may seek your lordship's favour, I beg that he may obtain it. Farewell, my most excellent Mæcenas.

Louvain, 13 December, 1517.†

By Epistle 714, addressed to Richard Pace, now apparently at Bruges,—where upon his return from Constance he had been met by More,—Erasmus answers two letters received from his correspondent on the day upon which he writes, these two letters having been preceded by three others, to which Erasmus had already replied. None of these five letters of Pace, nor either of the two preceding letters of Erasmus to him, appear to have been preserved. In the earlier part of the following epistle, Erasmus defends his *Apologia ad Fabrum*,—upon which his correspondent had made some observations in one of his lost letters,—and in the latter part he complains of the silence of More, who appears to have spent the greater part of the month of November in the service of his Government in Flanders, or at Calais, where Pace would naturally pause on his return to England. We have gathered from a letter of Erasmus to Peter Gillis, dated

* Briselot is mentioned in Erasmus's letter to Haloin, as having denounced him at Antwerp. See before, Epistle 599, p. 5.

† Lovanio 13. Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

15 November (Epistle 685), that Pace had lately been at Antwerp,—and that he had left there with Gillis a letter for Erasmus. See p. 146, note.

EPISTLE 714. Deventer MS.; C. 1650 (222).

Erasmus to Richard Pace.

I have received to day,—St. Thomas's day,—two letters from you ; and I had already answered three others. They are all most welcome to me for two reasons,—as bearing witness to the activity of your own mind, and as being themselves evidence of your regard for me ; though of that I have long been aware.

I will now proceed to answer briefly a multitude of questions, after marvelling at the miracle, *if it really took place* ;* for in that fashion some problems are solved by Aristotle !

I am sorry about Lefèvre ; and am still at a loss to guess, what has come into the man's head ! You would not call my modest Apology bitter, if you knew what I could, with the approbation of Theologians, lay to his charge, and you see what he has laid to mine ! As for my passing nothing by without discussion, that is vigilance and not mordacity. But in fact I have advisedly passed over a great deal. There is no need of your bidding me to keep your opinion to myself. I only wish it were as well settled between you,† as it is between Lefèvre and me. As to the *Brothers*,‡ I have long had scent of their having some

* miraculum admiratus, si modo accidit. This sentence, in the absence of Pace's letter, to which this is an answer, remains obscure.

† tam inter vos (*quod* nos) conveniret. In any case the meaning is obscure.

‡ περί τῶν ἀδελφῶν. I presume the Friars are meant. These Greek words are printed in the text of Le Clerc, as if they belonged to the preceding clause.

scheme on hand. But there are things, which have that sort of plague about them, that you cannot overcome them by any course better than by leaving them alone; however successful you may be, you cannot touch a sore like that without infection. Therefore to invite such antagonists to a public discussion is much the same thing as challenging the mounted soldier to meet you on level ground!* I have some hope, that this Theology, which consists in hating your brother, and all this Pseudo-Christian class of people may in time be much less dominant than they now are. For my own part I am now performing in the last Act of my Play; how far I have been successful in the earlier scenes, it is for others to judge. But I am not going to desert the drama.

If More is with you, I am surprised at his being, to such an extent, a disciple of Pythagoras!† I should have liked to fly to where you are, instead of writing, if the work of my studies would allow me a holiday, and if I knew for certain that you are where I suppose.

You will give my greeting to Doctor Mark.‡ I send no greeting to More, because in your letters, repeated as they have been, he has sent none to me! Farewell, most accomplished Pace.

Louvain, St. Thomas's day (21 December), 1517.§

On the same day and no doubt by the same messenger Erasmus sent to his friend Antony Clava, a Councillor of the City of Ghent

* Τὸν ἐπ'εὶα εἰς πεδῖον προκαλεῖσθαι, that is, to give every advantage to your antagonist.

† Tantopere *πυθαγορίζειν*, being content with silent contemplation.

‡ D. [Domino] Marco. See note p. 5. Marcus Laurinus was Dean of the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges. We may perhaps infer from this sentence that Erasmus supposed both his correspondent and More to be at Bruges.

§ Lou. Natali Thomæ Apost. *Deventer MS.*; Lovanio 21. Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

(see vol. ii. pp. 311, 492), a short note, with a copy of the *Apologia ad Fabrum*.

EPISTLE 715. Deventer MS.; C. 1650 (223).

Erasmus to Antonius Clava.

I should have let you have my little volume before, but no messenger, to whom I might have entrusted it, was at hand. I am afraid now, that I am late in sending it; but I send it nevertheless.

Do take care of your health, my dear Clava, and keep up a bright fire, especially if you sit in that ground-floor room, where you usually are.

I congratulate Cæsar upon his acquisition of so much Greek! I see what he is about; he is a candidate for the Greek chair in this new College at Louvain, which is going to be founded under Busleiden's bequest, unless it is obstructed by some evil genius of the Theologians.

But what do I hear of our doctor? Has he set his heart on a gold jug? * What if he bestows his embrace on one of silver, if a gold one is not to be had? Do take pains in every way you can, to show *him* the middle finger.† Farewell.

Louvain, 21 December, 1517.‡

We have seen by Epistles 678, 679, written probably in the preceding month, that Erasmus was then expecting a present of silver

* Sed quid audio de Medico? Itane deamat ille chrysidem? The doctor is, no doubt, Afinius.

† Tu cura modis omnibus ut Medico medium unguem possis ostendere: Show the doctor, that you are ashamed of him. To point the middle finger at a person, was, with the ancients, a sign of contempt. Erasmus, *Adagia*, lxvii, lxviii.

‡ Lovanio 21. Decemb. An. 1517. C.

plate from Afinius; and we may infer from the last clause of Epistle 715, that the present had not yet arrived, and that Erasmus was beginning to despair of receiving any material advantage from an acquaintance, which had otherwise no attraction for him. As, in the first book of the Iliad, Chryseis, daughter of *Χρύσης*, was an object of desire and contention to the Homeric chiefs, so a *Chrysis*, or indeed an *argyris*, a gold vessel,—or one of silver, if of sufficient size and beauty,—might be regarded as a suitable present from a wealthy physician to an author, who was proposing to dedicate to him (upon his own request) one of his literary productions. See before, pp. 135, 137; and vol. ii. p. 526.*

Gerardus Listrius, who in the autumn of 1514 had been among the scholars busy with Erasmus at Basel, and was then described by him as having some skill in medicine, had since that time become a schoolmaster at Zwolle, the capital town of Oberyssel in the north-eastern part of Holland. See vol. ii. pp. 160, 279. He now sends to Erasmus from the latter place a letter dated the 28th of December, 1517. The Prior of the Monastery of St. Agnes (situate, I presume, in the same city), with which Listrius was in some way, perhaps as Chaplain, connected, had been in possession of a copy of the Gospels in Greek, of the existence of which Erasmus was already aware, having apparently made some inquiry about it in a letter to Listrius.

EPISTLE 716. Deventer MS.; C. 1651 (225).

Listrius to Erasmus.

As I read your letter,† Master Erasmus, it flew at once into my mind, that I should as soon as possible send the Greek Gospels to you. But by some chance the Prior had allowed the use of them to a Father in the country of Cleves. I accordingly got a letter from the Prior, and

* A Declamation in Praise of Medicine was dedicated by Erasmus to Afinius nearly three months later, 13 March, 1518. *Erasmi Opera*, vol. i. p. 538. It may be presumed that the expected present had then arrived.

† This letter to Listrius does not appear to have been preserved.

sent off my boy to the furthest recesses of that country. Meantime a bookseller came hither from your parts, who said that there was a persistent report, that you had gone over to England. Consequently I doubted whether I should send the book or not ; but I have made up my mind to send it, as such rumours are not generally to be trusted ; though I am afraid it will not be of much use to you.

John Langenfeld † is working hard both at Mathematics and at Greek ; while I am so overwhelmed with my own business and the school work, that I have scarcely time to look into a book, and it will not be believed, how much I am losing in respect of learning. The profit little corresponds with the labour ; nevertheless I intend to persevere, in obedience both to your advice, and to that of the excellent Fathers. ‡

* * * * *

Some days ago a canonry at Utrecht was offered me by some friends ; but, as the offer was not clear of Simony, I declined it, though there was no lack of friends who were ready of their own accord to lend me the money required. But I prefer to live to Christ in my poverty, rather than in wealth to the Devil.

The lord Prior of St. Agnes, a most ardent lover of yours, is well ; and both he and Father Cocmann,—a general herald of your praises,—with whom I am living, send their greetings. Continue to despise, as you do, those who bark against you, and thank God, that you have this in common with Him, that you are treated ungratefully by those, who are under the deepest obligations to you. Farewell.

Zwolle, 28 December, 1517. §

† Longicampianus. See Epistle 427, vol. ii. p. 326.

‡ I presume the Prior and Fathers of the Monastery of St. Agnes. See a few lines below.

§ Ex Zwolle, 28, Decembris, Anno 1517, C.

In Epistle 717, addressed by Erasmus to Dorpius, the writer does his best to make peace between two of his friends, Dorpius and Nævius. It appears that the latter,—Joannes Nævius Hontiscotanus, master of the High School (pædagogium Liliense) at Louvain,—was at this time living with Erasmus at the Collegium Liliense. See Epistles 620, 689. In an eulogy of Nævius, written after his death some seven years later, Erasmus says that it was his one fault,—that though not easily irritated, he was difficult to appease. See C. 784 F. The writer probably had the circumstances of this time in his mind.

EPISTLE 717. Deventer MS.; C. 1654 (233).

Erasmus to Dorpius.

Although it is my never-ceasing business to exhort our friend Nævius to peace and concord, I did nevertheless, on the very day upon which gave me the commission, proceed to action in the matter, and that so energetically, that I *almost* carried the man along with me. There is no mortal living, who by his character shrinks more from a quarrel than he; neither is there anyone that more gladly abstains from meddling with other people's affairs. Nothing can be kinder,—nothing more friendly than Nævius is; I only wish that his genius had also had the good luck, which it well deserved, of being free from wrangles of this sort, and at leisure to devote itself entirely to study. It was on this account that I withdrew for a time from his society, and I should meet him with more pleasure now, if he were clear of these questions of yours; not that he throws the burden of them upon me, but that we should then be more at liberty to devote our thoughts in common to philosophic study.

I shall not cease to advise him to take the same course as I do. And to you, my Dorpius, I make this one request, that you will remember, how unbecoming it is to quarrel with a man, with whom you have been so intimate,—

especially upon an occasion that does not at all concern yourself; while it is Nævius's character to be most constant in his attachment to those whom he has once accepted as friends. Farewell.

Louvain, 1517.

The following letter is the answer of the Bishop of Liège to Epistle 712, which had been delivered to him by Paschasius Berselius, together with a copy of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans. See p. 195.

EPISTLE 718. Auctarium, p. 216; Ep. iii. 45; C. 359 (348).

Erard, Bishop of Liège to Erasmus.

I received with much pleasure the letter which you sent me by Paschasius, a person who is devoted to you, and for whom I have a great regard. I was also much pleased with your Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. I give you infinite thanks for writing to me, and for the good opinion of me, which you express in your letter, being glad to be praised by one who is the subject of so much praise. You have been hitherto unknown to me personally, but very well known for the last ten years by name and reputation, both for your distinguished erudition and for the amiable character which I hear you possess. If you will be pleased to do us the honour of coming here, we shall reckon, that a favour has been conferred upon us. If you will not come to us, we shall seek an opportunity of going to you, so that we may be able to enjoy your society and conversation. Farewell.

30 December, [1517].*

* Tertio Kal. Ian. An. M.D.VIII. This letter is mentioned in the letter of Erasmus to Gerard of Nimeguen, dated 10 January, 1518. Epistle 728.

Paschasius Berselius, the person who is mentioned in the first sentence of the Bishop's letter (Epistle 718), and to whom Erasmus had twice written before (Epistles 684, 708), was an ecclesiastic of Liège, in intimate relation with the Bishop, and in sufficiently good circumstances to have made a present to Erasmus, to which allusion is made in the opening sentence of the following letter. The Castle of Huy, which was one of the residences of the Bishop, was situated on the Meuse, a few leagues to the west of the city of Liège; and the following letter describes a scene characteristic of the Court of a Prelate who was more prince than bishop.

EPISTLE 719. Auctarium, p. 211; Epist. iii. 43; C. 229 (232).

Paschasius Berselius to Erasmus.

I may confidently say that I have never liked the assiduity,—or rather covetousness,—of those people, who send keepsakes in all directions to their acquaintance in expectation of receiving presents in return. It is true that I had sent to you,—and that only once,—some sort of pledge of my affection; but you in loving craft have feigned a war between us, in which you intend to be the conqueror. For you say in your letter, that you have been challenged by me with gifts, but do not mean to compete just now,—not declining battle altogether, but putting it off to a more convenient season. * * * Enough has been done, and I surrender at discretion. Your Paraphrase has shown you to be too much for me; I am my own no longer, but yours with all my heart by right of conquest.

On the 28th of December I called at the castle of Huy upon the most gracious Prince; who received me, as he always does, with the greatest kindness and courtesy. I delivered your letter to him, and also the Paraphrase, because the person to whom you gave that commission had more than once tried to perform it in vain. The

Prince read the letter aloud, and then pressed the present to his lips, expressing his pleasure by uttering repeatedly the name of Erasmus ; and I was bid to remain that day at the Castle. After service came dinner-time. We entered the principal hall, which is decorated with tapestries of great size and height. The water for our hands was soon brought round, and the Prince took his seat, having next him his brother Robert, an accomplished soldier, who may be regarded as the Achilles of our age. The third seat was occupied by the wife of this personage, a Penelope in her life, and a Lucretia in her character ; the fourth by his daughter, a young lady of marriageable age, whose face made one think of Diana. The fifth and sixth places were filled by this young heroine's two brothers, whom you might well have taken for the twin sons of Leda. Among these gods and goddesses I, poor beetle,* took my seat on the invitation of Jupiter, feeding my eyes with gold, jewels and purple, my ears with sweet music, and my palate with nectar and ambrosia ! When our appetites were satisfied, the dinner was removed, and grace was sung. We then rose, and the company began to play, some with dice, and some at draughts.† Meantime I was called to the Prince, and we had a long and complimentary talk about you. There is no one for whom he has a higher regard ; he longs to see you and fold you in his arms,—but as he would a parent, or rather as a supernatural visitor from Heaven ! He is inviting you by letter, pray do not linger ; you will gratify him extremely, if you cast aside all delays. Do not, for Heaven's sake, let so great a personage be tormented by a continued longing for your society. He is unlike any prelate you have seen in Italy, France, England, Scotland or Germany. Whether you look at the resources of the

* *Ego scarabeus.* See *Adagia* ; *scarabeus aquilam quærit.*

† *Alii fritillo, alii latrunculis.*

mind, the endowments of the body, or the gifts of fortune, he leaves them all far behind.

The persons you lately bid me salute in your name, send their greetings in return, especially Baptist, who loves you as he might love a father.* Please salute your son and my brother, Rutgerus Rescius. I will write to him when I have time to do so.†

Farewell, glory of literature! If you have anything to send to the Prince, you may safely entrust it to me, his humble chaplain. Farewell again.

From our cell at Liège [30 Dec. 1517].‡

* This clause of greeting answers a similar message in the letter of Erasmus to Berselius, Epistle 708. The Baptist here mentioned appears to have been a brother of Jerome Aleander. See p. 115.

† Rutgerus Rescius was a scholar, who appears at this time to have been employed at Louvain in the printing office of Thierry Martens. See vol. ii. p. 517.

‡ Septimo Idus Januarias. *Auctarium*. The answer to this letter, Epistle 725, is dated *postridie Epiphaniæ*, i.e. the 7th of January, which is the same date as *Septimo Idus Januarias*. I have therefore corrected the date of the former letter on the assumption that it accompanied that of the Bishop, Epistle 718.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Continued residence at Louvain, January, 1518. Correspondence with Berselius, the Bishops of Liège and Utrecht, the Abbot of St. Bertin, Bade, Glarean, Latimer and others. Epistles 720 to 735.

THE first Epistle of Erasmus translated in the present chapter contains an Apology for the *Moria*, an old story, as the writer himself tells us, after the book had gone through more than a dozen editions. The person to whom the letter was written, is described in the Latin address, as Warden of the Minorites (Guardiano Minoritarum),—that is, I presume, the chief of an establishment of Friars Minor or Franciscans,—in Amsterdam.* He had apparently written to Erasmus, advising him to be cautious in what he published, and recalling the offence which had been given by the *Moria*.

EPISTLE 720. Deventer MS.; C. 1667 (254).

Erasmus to John of Louvain.

I could not but heartily welcome your so friendly, so prudent,—or to describe it shortly,—your so Christian counsel. As regards the *Moria* I have undertaken to satisfy the reader, partly in the Preface of the work itself, and partly in the Epistle to Dorpius, which is now added

* Integerrimo Patri, Domino Joanni à Lovanio, Guardiano Minoritarum in Amsterledam. C.

to the book. But what are you to do with those, whom no reasons can appease, and who indeed loudly condemn what they have never read? If I had foreseen that those friends of yours would be so deeply offended, I might perhaps have suppressed the work, being of that mind, that if it is in my power to satisfy everybody, I would gladly do so, as far as it can be done without adulation. But it is of no use to regret the publication now, after the book has gone through more than twelve editions.

I should very much like to know, why of all mankind, the only persons that have taken offence are Monks and Theologians. Can it be that they all recognize their own likeness in my descriptions? The Pope read the *Moria* through, and laughed over it; he only added, "I am glad to find our Erasmus has his own place there too!" And yet there is no set of men whom I treat with more bitterness than Popes! I have no taste for evil-speaking; but if I chose to describe Theologians and Monks as most of them really are, it would then be apparent with what civility they are spoken of by Folly.

That the book is read in Schools, I had never heard before; though indeed I did take pains to admit nothing in it, that would be corrupting to that age; for as to your fear, that the reading of it might alienate them from all religion, I do not understand what that means. Is there any danger of all religion being disliked, because something is said against those who are superstitiously religious? I only wish, that all who are now called "Religious"* were worthy of that name. Indeed I will say more freely still, I would that priests and people were such true followers of the religion of Christ, that those who are now the only persons called Religious would not appear religious at all! The world is everywhere full of monasteries; I do not

* Members of Religious Orders, Monks and Friars.

myself condemn any method of life ; but make the estimate for yourself,—how few there are in them, who, beyond church services and ceremonies, have any religion at all !

I have never blackened any man's character, while I have tilted in a playful way at the common and most notorious vices of mankind. And yet for the future I intend to act with still greater moderation ; and if there are some persons whom I cannot possibly satisfy, I shall console myself with the example of St. Paul, who through evil report and good report, followed that which was right. At any rate I go so far as this, that if I have not the approbation of all, I have at any rate that of the greatest and the best. And perhaps the others at last will praise the same person when dead, whom they censure while he is living.

Farewell, good Father, and commend me in your prayers to Christ.

Louvain, 2 January, 1518.*

The following letter is addressed, *Ioanni de Hondt Canonico Curtracensi*,—to Jan van Hondt, Canon of Courtrai. It should be remembered, that in July, 1516, by the influence of the Chancellor Le Sauvage, a canonry in the Cathedral of Courtrai had been given to Erasmus, which he had found it convenient to transfer to Jan van Hondt in exchange for a pension. See vol. ii. p. 309. By the present letter it appears, that Erasmus had employed the service of his correspondent in a similar way with respect to other church preferments, including a benefice in the diocese of Utrecht, which had been conferred upon him by way of part-payment of a pension granted to him by the Burgundian Court.

EPISTLE 721. Deventer MS.; C. 1667 (255).

Erasmus to Jan van Hondt.

I do not doubt, excellent Sir, that your character is such as

* Lovanio 2. Januarii, Anno 1518. C.

it was long ago depicted to me by Master Lewin Potelberg, formerly Treasurer of Flanders,*—a man in my opinion no less trustworthy than courteous,—by whose recommendation the Courtrai prebend was transferred to you. And this opinion of mine is confirmed by the judgment of Peter Barbier,—no foolish or careless person,—who has entrusted to you the management of his own affairs. But there is no need of a multitude of precautions in the intercourse of those to whom the old saying applies, "Good men must deal well with each other."† As regards that benefice in the diocese of Utrecht, you shall not find me in any respect difficult to deal with; but while I know what dealings I have myself had with Barbier, I do not know what has passed between you and him. Consequently I have no certain answer to give except this, that, when the amount of the pension has been calculated, and a portion only of this consists of benefices, it does not seem fair, when these are subject to any abatement, to make the deduction apply to the whole amount of the pension as originally estimated.

The most Reverend Prelate of Utrecht seems to be uncommonly well disposed towards us, as he has shown by one or two letters to me. But that is a window, which those friends of yours do not readily open to other persons, who are inclined to seek for equal favour; and I do not myself think it expedient to waste the goodwill of so great a Prince upon any trifling object. I want you accordingly to act as a faithful friend; whatever Barbier approves shall have my assent; and I am looking for a letter from him upon this subject as well as others. He sent me, while still on his journey, the money received out of the pension,‡ and in that matter I lovingly acknowledge both his attention

* D. Livinus Potelbergius quondam Flandriæ Quæstor ærarius. C.

† Inter bonos bene agier oportet. C.

‡ pecuniam ex pensione receptam. C.

and your fidelity. If anything should arise in which I can be of use to you, you shall find no lack, on my part, either of good will or of zeal. Farewell.

Louvain, 5 January, 1518.*

In Epistle 722 Erasmus shows no excess of delicacy in writing to Afinius about the present of plate, which he was expecting from him. See Epistle 678. It must be admitted, that to the admirers of their author, these letters to Afinius present anything but agreeable reading.

EPISTLE 722. Deventer MS.; C. 1668 (256).

Erasmus to Afinius.

Most learned of physicians, and best of friends, the day named has gone by over and over again, and every time without result. It may be that the stars of last year were not favourable to our intercourse. Do now, at any rate, under the better auspices of a new year, send those often promised cups, so that our friends, who suspect I have been over trustful, may not appear to be right.

Can I possibly suspect a person like you to be guilty of such conduct? You are too serious to make game of any one, and I do not think that you can regard me as a suitable object for such treatment. I have accordingly sent Thierry Martens to bring them to me. He is quite a safe messenger; and you will find that I shall not be backward in my attention to you, however little I have hitherto done.

Farewell, and if you sincerely respond to the regard I have for you, take care that Thierry does not return with empty hands. Do not put the day off any longer, bearing

* Lovanio 5. Januarii, Anno 1518. C.

in mind that a great part of the value of a favour is lost by delay. Farewell again.

Louvain, 6 January, 1518.*

On the same day Erasmus dictated a letter to Peter Barbier, who was now apparently in Spain with his patron, John Le Sauvage, the minister of King Charles. See vol. ii. p. 606.

EPISTLE 723. Deventer MS. ; C. 1668 (257).

Erasmus to Peter Barbier.

If you did not stand in the place of my Mæcenas,† I should tear you to pieces with reproaches for not having returned me a word of answer to the many letters by which you have been challenged; especially when you do write to others. The whole business of the pension I have entrusted to your fidelity; do, pray, continue to be like yourself.

Perhaps after Easter I shall have to go either to Basel or to Italy, in order to conclude the last act of this Theological Comedy. For in revising the Greek Testament I have already advanced so far, that the port is now in sight, though at some distance. I hate this work of mine, when I think of the ingratitude of some; but on the other hand I am comforted by the progress made by the good.

I have sent you the *Apologia*, in which I answer Lefèvre; I have also sent my Paraphrase;‡ and I hear that these works have been delivered to you. I am surprised that

* Lovanio 6. Januarii, Anno 1518. C.

† Ni mihi Mæcenatis esses vice. The Chancellor Le Sauvage being Erasmus's Mæcenas, his secretary might be regarded as a vice-patron.

‡ The *Apologia* appears to have been published in August, and the Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans in November, 1517.

Lefèvre does not, by even a short note, either defend his position, or acknowledge his defeat.

I have been long expecting some happy oracle from your quarter. I want very much to know what the Bishop of Chieti is about, and also what our pleasant friend Guy* is doing. But above all, do contrive that my pension be paid as soon as possible, so that I may not want money for my journey, for everything is expensive here, and I am not making the smallest profit. Commend me again and again to my excellent Mæcenæ; and write me word, whether there is any hope of seeing you back again. Farewell, Barbier, dearest of all mortals!

Louvain, 6 January, 1518.†

To the letter of Berselius, Epistle 719, of which some account has been given in the preceding chapter, Erasmus sent a speedy reply.

EPISTLE 724. Auctarium, p. 213; Epist. iii. 44;
C. 230 (233).

Erasmus to Paschasius Berselius.

You must indeed be a warlike person, when one hears no sound from you but of battle and of engines of attack and defence. But guard yourself as you please, we shall reach you still, though we have to tunnel for it! At present we have this stone to roll, or rather this mill to grind in.

But I do congratulate you on being admitted to the feasts

* Lepidissimus Guido noster. In a letter written some weeks later to Barbier, Erasmus calls Guy Morillon *congerronem tuum*, your playfellow. See about Morillon, vol. ii. p. 494.

† In die . . . MD 18. *Deventer MS.* 6. Januarii, Anno 1518. C. The word, apparently illegible in the manuscript, may be presumed to have been *Epiphania*.

of gods,* and suppose you are by this time become a demi-god yourself. You have been pleased to make me also a partaker in that blissful banquet, having so graphically described it, that I seem even now to be sitting with you among gods and goddesses. Without jesting, I have been passing all last night in conversation with the Bishop ; and I am by no means inclined to torment him by long deprivation of my society. But in the first place, look at the time of year, when,—to deal with you in poetical phrase,—the sea is not fit to sail, nor the land to roam. And in the next place, my health is such, that I can scarcely keep it, while I hide myself at home, either walking backwards and forwards before a blazing fire, or sunk like a cuckoo in his nest. But this nest, as I call it, is worse than a treadmill ; for I am engaged in a work that is troublesome beyond measure ; in which however I am so far advanced, that I feel like the traveller on his way from Naples to Cumæ, who sees afar through the dense darkness of the tunnelled mountain a speck of light, like a star, which promises an exit,—or like the wave-tossed voyager, when he catches a distant sight of port. Within a month with Christ's aid I shall get clear of this labyrinth ; whereas, if the labour were now interrupted, I could not induce my mind to place itself in such a treadmill again. Now that Proteus is caught, his bonds must be kept tight, until he resumes his own shape and solves the oracle. The winter's cold will soon relax, so that we may take to our wings with the storks and swallows.

When you rank your Prince above all prelates, and that in every kind of merit and distinction, I shall not dispute this estimate with you, especially as you are not the only person who maintains it, and your opinion is confirmed by the promotion of Aleander, and finally by his own letter,†

* See Epistle 719.

† Epistle 677.

which exhibits the courtesy of a truly noble spirit. And yet the Archbishop of Canterbury is so good to me, that I could not wish him more accommodating; and I should be happy enough with him alone, if either he were in this country, or England were joined to us by a bridge; so much do I detest that frightful Channel, and the seamen more frightful still. But as in ancient Scythia *polyphily*, or the entertainment of many friends, was in ill repute,—and I see that Hesiod too thought it equally mean for a man to have many allies as to have none,—so perhaps among the poetical tribe, it may not be held respectable for the same author to have many Mæcenates; though for my part I pray for nothing more than to have the approbation of the best persons, since we cannot have that of everybody.

In this respect I certainly have not so much to complain of want of patronage, as of its having come late. † Almost all England is friendly to me. When I was lately there, the King himself soon sent for me, and made me an offer not to be despised; and the Cardinal of York did the same. The Archbishop of Mayence has sent me a most loving invitation by a letter written with his own hand. In another letter Philip, bishop of Utrecht, has just now done the same; while he of Basel has proposed to share his kingdom with me. But, as I have said, all this comes rather late.† The Mæcenas I need now is not one that will advance me on the stage of the world, or load me with the gifts of fortune, but one that will mend my bodily strength, and restore the vigour of my mind. Both of these, originally weak, have been exhausted, partly by age, and partly by the perpetual labour of study. At present both my mind craves some honourable repose, and my health demands it. For the last

†—† The above passage, which has a personal interest, from the words *Almost all England* to the word *late*,—not being included in the letter as printed,—is supplied '*ex MS.*' in the *Errata* of Le Clerc's edition, p. 1933.

catastrophe of this play is still to come, in which I hope to be permitted so to discharge my part as to be approved by Christ, the great director of the scene. I have not hitherto sought a dignified position, as being out of proportion to my mental and bodily powers; and if I seek it now, I shall be unequal to sustain it. I therefore stand resolved tenaciously to guard my leisure, in which however I shall so live as to be of service to the public so far as my strength will allow, even if I abstain in future from such more than youthful labours as are now pulling me down.

In the early days of Lent I shall begin to fly out of the nest. If it stand with the pleasure of my lord Bishop, our affair shall be put off till then. If not, we will endeavour to gratify so great a prince even at the risk of our health. You see, my Paschasius, how I have poured my whole self into your bosom. Farewell.

The Paraphrase which frightens you,—for so you write,—will please you better, if you compare it closely with the text.

Louvain, the morrow of the Epiphany (7 Jan.), 1518.*

The above letter was accompanied by another of the same date addressed to the Bishop and Prince of Liège, in which a part of the same matter was repeated in more studied phrase.

EPISTLE 725. Auctarium, p. 217; Epist. iii. 45; C. 290 (297).

Erasmus to the Bishop of Liège.†

Most Reverend Prelate and illustrious Prince, to answer in few words and without preface your Highness's most

* Lovanii, postridie Epiphaniae, Anno M. D. XVII.

† Erardo Episcopo ac Principi Leodiensi Erasmus Roterodamus S.D.

gracious letter,—in which you tell me, that having long known me by reputation, you desire also to see me face to face,—I can only say that the goddess, called *Ossa** by Homer and *Fama* by Maro, with her usual vanity and exaggeration, burdens Erasmus with such praises, that he is not at liberty either to decline what she attributes to him in so many tongues, or to retain as his own what she puts upon him. I am aware that there is no fairer object of pursuit than to be approved by the chief of men. But meantime, as I take my own measure at home, however agreeable it is to be esteemed by those whose approbation is as honourable as their disapproval is the reverse, it is no less painful to feel, that there is nothing in ourselves which answers to the friendly opinion or lofty expectation, which they entertain concerning us. I may thus owe to the trumpet of Fame much the same debt of gratitude, as that unskilful harper did to the person who brought him into a crowded theatre dressed in a golden pall with a golden harp in his hand, when he was sure to be hissed off the stage as soon as he began to play. In me there is nothing to be seen; or if there is, it is represented by my books. The best part of us is there, and the rest would not sell for a farthing! And yet, being so lovingly invited, I would most eagerly have flown to your Highness; but I am deterred, first, by this more than wintry weather, and in the next place by my health, which, in itself delicate, is now so broken down by the constant labours in which I am engaged, that I can scarcely secure it while I keep to the house. I am toiling so earnestly in the renewal of the New Testament, that I have grown old myself in the task, and while I am freeing

* The word "*Ossa*" appears more than once in Homer in the sense of *Fama*, or Rumour personified; as in the last book of the *Odyssey*, line 422,

"*Ossa δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὄκα κατὰ πτόλιν ἔρχετο πάντη*."

and in the second book of the *Iliad*, line 94, she is called *Διὸς ἄγγελος*.

this book from the rust of age, I have become doubly aged and rusty myself,—resolved as I am, either to die in endeavouring to complete the work that is begun, or to make it such as to appear worthy of the tenth Leo, and of posterity. We have now advanced so far, that though we are still struggling in the midst of waves, the distant harbour is gradually coming into sight ; in which, with the breath of Christ upon the gale, we shall come to anchor before Lent.

At that time, in milder weather, and with a mind more at leisure, I shall hasten to your Reverence, and hope even to anticipate the swallows and the storks ! But if your Highness will not allow even this delay, we shall cast everything else aside as of less importance, and fly to you.

But I have already written more fully about these matters to our excellent Paschasius, a person in many respects most fortunate, but especially to be congratulated on being in favour with a Prince no less gracious than powerful, whom I pray the Almighty long to preserve to us, in the enjoyment of health and of every other blessing.

Louvain, the morrow of Epiphany (7 January), 1518.*

Three days later Erasmus addresses to another of his exalted correspondents,—his own diocesan, the Bishop of Utrecht,—a letter, at the end of which he again speaks of the kind of patronage that he now desired.

EPISTLE 726. *Epist. ad diversos*, p. 172 ; *Epist. ii.* 48 ; C. 270 (298).

Erasmus to Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht.

Most reverend Prelate and illustrious Prince, I have kissed over and over again your Highness's letter, which,

* *Lovanii, postridie Epiphaniæ Anno M. D. XVIII. Auctarium.*

short as it is,—counted by lines,—is nobly prolix, if measured by its kindness. But,—to make a communication between two persons of very little leisure as short as possible,—I am delighted to find that the Complaint of Peace has been approved, first, by the verdict of so great a Prince, and then by the suffrage of the most learned scholars.

We are living a cuckoo's life, but, our study is more like a grinding-mill than a nest. In my repeated endeavours to give a fresh novelty to the New Testament, I have grown old myself ; and while thus engaged in retirement, am taking no mean part in the Theatre of the World. But the perverse malice of some of the spectators makes me weary now and then of so immense a task ; while on the other hand I am consoled by the consciousness of the important service, which, if I am not mistaken, my work will render to good men. If I was born for this object, it does not become me to fight, like the Giants, against God, and if I have ground this mortar-ful for myself, it is only right I should eat it up. Having made my entry upon the stage, the play must be played out, and we have by this time almost reached the Catastrophe. But I shall continue to act my part both more willingly and more carefully, with your encouragement and applause, but above all with the approval, as I hope, of Christ, whose sanction alone is abundantly enough. I foresee a wonderful advance of learning and piety in these regions, if there be found a few Mæcenates like you, who, as if with standard raised on high, may summon good intellects to work, may stimulate by rewards, and honour by authority. And if it is too much to hope for many patrons like you, it is indeed to be wished, that the Powers above may preserve you to us in safety, may encourage that mind in you, and grant to that mind as many years as may be.

I am aware how much I owe you for the paternal interest which you take in me ; but it is almost too late for me now to measure swords with dame Fortune, or to descend into

those lists, from which I shrunk, even when young. An eminent position, which it is no less trouble to sustain than to procure, is a great burden ; my age, my health, and my disposition demand some ready and easy place of security, which will not deprive me of literary leisure. But I am allowing myself to be carried on further in writing to you than I ought. I bid your reverend Highness farewell, dedicating myself and all my studies to your service.

Louvain, 10 January, 1518.*

The following letter, addressed to Gerardus Noviomagus (Gerard Geldenhauer of Nimeguen), the Secretary of the Bishop of Utrecht, belongs to the same time as Epistle 726, and may be assumed to have been sent with it. It was printed as a separate publication by Thierry Martens, with the year-date 1517. This date, so far as it goes, may be accepted as right according to the usage of Brabant, where the *annus domini* commenced on Good Friday. See Introduction, vol. i. p. lxix.

EPISTLE 727. Epist. iii. 42 ; C. 288 (292).

Erasmus to Gerard of Nimeguen.

Most learned Gerard, while I have always counted it a most desirable distinction to win the approbation of men of high position, there is no one whom I have a greater wish to please than Philip, a prelate to whose diocese I belong, and who stands also in every way in the foremost rank. The Archbishop of Mayence wrote me several months ago a letter of the greatest kindness, and that with his own fingers. The Bishop of Liège has also lately written, threatening to fly hither himself if I found any difficulty in

* Lovanij, quart. Idus Ian. 1518. *Deventer MS.* Sim. *Ep. ad div.* 172.

coming to him. But as these attentions are gratifying to me, so on the other hand I am dissatisfied with myself and let my feathers droop, when it comes to my mind, that there is nothing in me to answer the expectations of such important persons.

But how now! I find something in your letter that is quite new to me. I had no idea, that you were endowed with such virgin modesty, as not to venture to write to *me*! I have often seen you blush, but could not guess the cause. Supposing what you say to be true, I deem you not fit either for Court or Cowl. If therefore you think of doing anything at all, you must lose no time in hardening your forehead, and wiping away those useless blushes.

In my New Testament work I have made such way, that, although I am still at sea, the distant harbour is in sight and as it were inviting me to rest. I send the little Book of Paraphrase, in case you have not yet got it. You will give a share of it to your learned friends, and if you find it convenient, to the Prince also, but especially to Philip du Mont, the Proctor, as you write, of the Court,* to whom I cannot but return a warm regard, when he himself challenges me so kindly. Nævius and Borssele return your salutation. Farewell, most loyal Noviomagus.

Louvain [10 January, 1518].†

The following letter was addressed by Erasmus to his old friend, Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin (see vol. i. 92, 348, ii. 58, 120), of whom he had lately heard from More,—the latter, probably by Erasmus's suggestion, having paid a visit to the Monastery, which appears to have been situated within the town of St. Omer.

* Philippo Montio, aulæ, ut scribis, procuratori.

† Lovanii M. D. XVII. *Ed Lond.* The date is here assumed to be the same as that of the letter to the Bishop, Epistle 726. See p. 221.

EPISTLE 728. Auctarium, p. 162 ; Epist. iii. 18 ;
C. 366 (353).

Erasmus to the Abbot of St. Bertin.

Incomparable patron, I have been long on many accounts indebted to your kindness, and am now still more obliged to you for having received More, a part of my soul,—I had almost said the dearer part,—in such a loving way. So heartily in his letter to me does he congratulate himself on having seen your lordship. Your courtesy is not less welcome to me, because it is nothing new ; and yet, dear friend as More is, I was a little jealous of him, because I have not lately enjoyed the same privilege myself.

May I die if this winter has not seemed to me to have lasted more than a century, so long have I had to live a cuckoo's life ; though it is not so much a nest in which we pass our time as a most hateful treadmill. We are renewing the New Testament once more ; and trust with the blessing of Christ to make it such as may seem not unworthy both of the Tenth Leo and of posterity.

Though I have no opportunity of seeing you, you are not without some sort of representative with me. For Antony, your brother's son, is here ; and by the sweetness of his nature no less than by his name he recalls and represents his uncle. May I incur the wrath of all the Muses, if I either lie or flatter,—he is a youth of marvellous character, of whom the highest hopes may be entertained. And, what is rare among the favourites of fortune, he is also fond of Good Letters and for the sake of Letters has some regard for us. He comes to see us now and then, and looks with reverence at our library. Yesterday he sent me some venison with a note so elegant and expressive of so much kind feeling, that it was far more welcome to me than the

game. It will be well for Literature, if such personages begin to take pleasure in it ; still more will it be well for noble families, if to the splendour of their race they add the glory of literature. This is the hinge, upon which the happiness of the world mainly turns,—are our Governments heartily concerned for the highest objects? The Pope attracts to his service and bestows distinction and preferment upon eminent talent, wherever it is found. I know and confess, that I am nothing in comparison with men of learning, and yet,—on account of some belief in my erudition, which my lucubrations have begotten,—when I was lately in England, the King embraced me with the utmost kindness, and offered me a fortune which was not to be despised. I was received in like manner by the Cardinal of York, a person not universally good-natured or complaisant.* The Bishop of Utrecht has twice written to me lately ; and last of all the Bishop of Liège, threatening to come here, if I would not pay him a visit. The Archbishop of Mayence has traced a whole letter with his own fingers, to show more surely the earnestness of his regard for me. The Bishop of Basel invites me to share his kingdom, as he says ; and I have a horrible dread, that the King Catholic will make me bishop of India ! But jesting apart, I am heartily glad to find that this disposition prevails among the Great, not on my own account, but for the sake of all. If they go on in this way, there will be a great improvement in human affairs.

The bearer of this letter is a theologian, not less learned than the rest of them, but less supercilious ; an honest, good-natured, cheerful person. He has been appointed to the living of Ensleden by way of nomination, as they now call it, and has been in possession several months. He has

* non passim comis aut facilis. This opinion of Wolsey was not struck out before the publication of the letter in the *Auctarium* in August, 1518.

come to an agreement with the clerk whom your lordship had presented to the same benefice, subject to your approval, preferring to spend on better objects the time and trouble which would otherwise be consumed in litigation. It is only fair, that you should show some special favour to this University,—whether because she is our own, or because she has certainly in these times been of all others the most flourishing, or because you were yourself once fostered and nursed by her, as two of your nephews are now. Your lordship will be very little troubled with nominations; one or two will close the account,* so that you may less grudgingly accord this boon, as the best of her foster children to the best of nurses. Besides, such is Thierry's character, that if you knew the man well, there is no one to whom you would better like the preferment to be given, whatever it is. You will have a debtor who will not be faithless or ungrateful; I would offer to stand surety for him myself, if I were not already so completely yours, that I cannot be more bound to you than I am. His main hope is founded upon your kindness, of which no one has not heard, and which so many have experienced; I beseech you earnestly that he may be of the number.

I send you the Apostle Paul, speaking in Latin, and much more plainly than he is wont to speak.

A Trilingual College is being founded here by Busleiden's bequest. But some persons grumble, preferring to be, as they are, bilingual; superannuated parrots, whose stock of words there is no hope of changing!

Farewell, best of patrons.

The Lily, Louvain, 14 January, 1518.†

* *Una aut altera defungetur.* It appears that the University of Louvain claimed the right of *nominating* to some benefices under the lordship of the Abbot, and so interfering with the patronage which would otherwise have been his. The matter is further discussed in the next Epistle.

† *Postridie Id. Ian. Anno m. d. 18, ex Lilio. Deventer MS. Lovanio Anno 1518. C.*

Thierry, the bearer of the last letter, was also provided by his fluent and zealous friend with a letter of recommendation to Antony of Lutzenburg, a Canon of the Church of St. Omer, and Steward of the Abbot of St. Bertin. See vol. ii. pp. 87, 120. The younger Antony of Bergen, mentioned in the following letter as a namesake of the Abbot, appears to be his great-nephew,—son and heir apparent of the then lord of Bergen, who was himself the son of John, lord of Bergen, nephew of Henry, lord of Bergen and Bishop of Cambrai, the patron of Erasmus some five and twenty years before. See vol. i. pp. 92, 324.

EPISTLE 729. Deventer MS. ; C. 1692 (309).

Erasmus to Antony of Lutzenburg.

Thierry the bearer of this letter, who is a theologian without theological arrogance, has given me no ordinary pleasure, by bringing me news that you and Ghisbert the the doctor,* my oldest and most trusty friends, are enjoying prosperous health, and that my old patron, our common Mæcenas, the Reverend lord Abbot, is also well. Antony of Bergen is now here, a stripling of the happiest disposition, who recalls the Abbot not only by his name, but by the kindness of his character. He is devoted to Letters,—differing in this from the common fashion of his rank,—and for the sake of Letters he is fond of us. Trust me, he will some day by the lustre of his learning confer a fresh distinction on his pedigree, while Learning itself will borrow from him in return a fresh splendour and dignity.

But not to detain you longer than is right, I will explain in few words, what my main object at present is. The bearer of this letter is at war with some other priest about the little preferment of Ensleden ; this is the Helen in dispute between them. For Homer's Helen there was a

* See vol. i. p. 338, ii. 87.

ten years' war before Troy ; but for Helens of this kind there is never any end to the fight ; and this takes place to the great prejudice of the flock, and to the no little profit of the vultures who live by the damage of others.* My friend's opponent is not disinclined to give up his claim, provided he can do so with the approval of his patron, with whom you are able to exert a legitimate influence which is known to every body. At the same time you will be performing the part of a good and faithful friend, since in desiring collation to prevail over nomination you have regard to the honour of the Abbot. But I think myself, that some favour is due to this University, which has not been surpassed in the highest learning by any other during this century ; especially when we remember that my Lord was himself a student here. He will not be much burdened with these nominations ; but will be quit with one or two. And lastly, Thierry is himself a person unusually fitted for the office in question, being so learned in Theology, as to be a match for many of our Masters,† and being besides, a person of honest and sound character, and lastly a good-natured, cheerful man, of a character most suitable for College life.‡ He has been inducted for some months, but meantime the income of the living is intercepted by the Bishop of Utrecht. He has a great horror of litigation ; his adversary is ready to yield ; and the only thing remaining is, for my Lord to give his approval to an arrangement, which is quite fair in itself. Thierry wishes to owe this benefit entirely to the Abbot, and will be,—you may trust me,—an honest debtor. I do therefore earnestly beg you, since a word from you will be enough,—to get his petition

* *vulturum alienis damnis viventium*. I am afraid Erasmus means the lawyers.

† The word *Magister* in speaking of degrees in various studies is equivalent to Doctor. See p. 5, note.

‡ *ad vitam communem accommodatissimus*.

granted. If that cannot be done, he would like the matter,—without the trouble of a lengthy lawsuit,—to be settled by the arbitration of some lawyer, including the question what compensation might fairly be given to his adversary. Nevertheless it would be a generous act, if my Lord would concede this benefit outright, either to the University, or to the merits of this claimant; for I will say nothing of myself; although, if my wish has any influence with you, I would not refuse to accept the obligation myself for the benefit conferred upon him. But why talk of fresh liabilities, when I am already and have long been your bounden debtor and servant?

I send you Paul speaking the Roman tongue. I have not ventured to load the bearer with many books, and I know that you share everything with the doctor.* Our Moria did give offence to some divines, but this work pleases every one.

Pray give my greeting to Ghisbert, and to his wife, who, I think, is propitious, now that I am so far away; also to steward Charles, with his nymph! And if you meet with the Prior of the Carthusians, be so good as to remind him, with my salutation, that he has not yet returned me the copy of Reuchlin's Letter. Farewell, Antony, best of friends.

Louvain [14 January] 1518.†

In Epistle 694, written apparently on the 25th of November, 1517 (see p. 161), Erasmus had thanked Marcus Laurinus for a letter accompanied by a present of money, and had sent him a copy of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which was then fresh from the press.

* *tibi omnia cum Medico esse communia.* The *Medicus* of St. Omer is Ghisbert, named in the next clause. See vol. i. p. 338, ii. p. 125.

† Lovanio, Anno 1518. C. The date of day is borrowed from the Epistle to the Abbot of St. Bertin, Epistle 728, which was sent by the same messenger, Thierry, to St. Omer. See pp. 224, 225, 226.

EPISTLE 730. Deventer MS. ; C. 1669 (258).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

I lately wrote, if I am not mistaken, by the same messenger by whom you sent hither the three gold pieces, and I also handed to him my *Paraphrase*, to be taken to you. I want to know, whether Pace is staying with you ; having by the same messenger written to him for the third time.* More, in a letter to me from England, congratulates himself on having made your acquaintance, so taken was he with the charm of your mind and character.

In our work upon the New Testament, we are panting towards the goal. When we have reached it, it will be a pleasure to get rid, in your sweet company, of the fatigue of this long-continued labour. I am invited with the kindest letters, on one side by the Bishop of Mayence, on another by him of Utrecht, and on another by him of Liège. They are very affectionate ; that is all ! But meantime the Graces of Simonides are mourning at the bottom of an empty coffer.† Farewell and love us, as you are wont to do !

Louvain, 14 January, 1518.‡

It appears from the following Epistle addressed by Erasmus to the French printer, Josse Bade, 'best Professor of the best Literature, that the writer had received a note from his correspondent, giving him information about some books published by the Press at Paris. The edition of the work of Erasmus, entitled *Parabolæ sive Similia*, printed by Bade, is said to bear date, *tertio cal. Dec.* (29 November), 1516. The first edition of the History of Æmilius, also published by Bade,

* See Epistle 695.

† In inani scrinii fundo Simonidis mœrent Gratiae.

‡ Lovan. postrid. id. Janu. An. MD 18. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 14. Januarii, Anno 1513. C.

has no date, but this work was probably first printed in 1517. It was reprinted in 1519.

EPISTLE 731. Deventer MS.; C. 1669 (259).

Erasmus to Bade.

I had not understood before about the *Similia*, but am glad nevertheless; and there is no need for you to send anything here; if Peter Gillis has it, it is enough. And yet, if he has received it, I am surprised; as I think he was going to send it on to me on account of what you say in it about me,—unless perhaps he is keeping it back for Thierry's sake.*

I have not received any letter from Deloin, except that single one, in which he challenges me to write.†

Thank you for gracing me with your good word,‡ as I am pleased to receive praise from a man highly praised; I shall take pains to return the attention.

I am glad to see that Æmilius's History has been brought hither at last. But I wonder at Linacre's writings not being published; I had asked Lupset to send me the one volume; but he, as it appears, has acted with *British* fidelity.§

* in gratiam Theodorici,—perhaps, in order to show it to Thierry Martens, who had himself published an edition in 1515, and again in 1516.

† See Epistle 424, vol. ii. p. 441.

‡ I presume Erasmus alludes to some prefatory matter inserted by Bade in his edition of the *Parabolæ*.

§ He has failed to perform his promise. The phrase, *Britannica fides*, used as a term of reproach and in contrast with *Germanorum fides*,—seems to have had some currency. But Erasmus observes in a letter written to Melancthon in 1524, that his own experience would rather lead him to reverse this judgment. C. 838 c. It is needless to say, he might more safely have rejected both as founded on national prejudice.

I do beg you to send someone again to ask for letters from Budé and Deloin.

Farewell, most accomplished Bade, with all yours.

Louvain, 16 January, 1518.*

Two days after the date of the last Epistle, Erasmus wrote another letter for Paris. This was addressed to Henry Glarean, who had written to Erasmus from that city in the preceding August (Epistle 592), and had apparently written more lately announcing his father's death; and to whom Erasmus had already written two letters addressed to Paris, Epistles 661 and 666.

EPISTLE 732. Auctarium; Epist. iii. 19; C. 295 (302).

Erasmus to Glarean.

Your twin letters, my very dear Glarean, have given me a double pleasure. Your father's death ought to be patiently borne, especially when his age is considered.

While I congratulate you on your good fortune in France, I pray it may last; seeing that these favours of Princes are especially apt to be transitory. I am sorry you are preparing to run away, as I am afraid that, while you are following those other objects, what you have in hand may slip away. It would perhaps have been better to leave the testamentary business in your brother's hands. At any rate, let me know when you propose to start on your journey; perhaps we may be fellow travellers.†

I am glad that you are in favour with Lefèvre, who is in my opinion a learned, honest and kindly man, and has only

* Anno MD 18, 17 Cal. Feb. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 16. Januarii, Anno 1518. C.

† It is not explained, what journey Erasmus had in view in which he might travel with Glarean. But as he might have occasion to go himself to Switzerland, they might perhaps travel up the Rhine valley together.

has no date, but this work was probably first printed in 1517. It was reprinted in 1519.

EPISTLE 731. Deventer MS.; C. 1669 (259).

Erasmus to Bade.

I had not understood before about the *Similia*, but am glad nevertheless; and there is no need for you to send anything here; if Peter Gillis has it, it is enough. And yet, if he has received it, I am surprised; as I think he was going to send it on to me on account of what you say in it about me,—unless perhaps he is keeping it back for Thierry's sake.*

I have not received any letter from Deloin, except that single one, in which he challenges me to write.†

Thank you for gracing me with your good word,‡ as I am pleased to receive praise from a man highly praised; I shall take pains to return the attention.

I am glad to see that Æmilius's History has been brought hither at last. But I wonder at Linacre's writings not being published; I had asked Lupset to send me the one volume; but he, as it appears, has acted with *British* fidelity.§

* in gratiam Theodorici,—perhaps, in order to show it to Thierry Martens, who had himself published an edition in 1515, and again in 1516.

† See Epistle 424, vol. ii. p. 441.

‡ I presume Erasmus alludes to some prefatory matter inserted by Bade in his edition of the *Parabolæ*.

§ He has failed to perform his promise. The phrase, *Britannica fides*, used as a term of reproach and in contrast with *Germanorum fides*,—seems to have had some currency. But Erasmus observes in a letter written to Melancthon in 1524, that his own experience would rather lead him to reverse this judgment. C. 838 c. It is needless to say, he might more safely have rejected both as founded on national prejudice.

I do beg you to send someone again to ask for letters from Budé and Deloin.

Farewell, most accomplished Bade, with all yours.

Louvain, 16 January, 1518.*

Two days after the date of the last Epistle, Erasmus wrote another letter for Paris. This was addressed to Henry Glarean, who had written to Erasmus from that city in the preceding August (Epistle 592), and had apparently written more lately announcing his father's death; and to whom Erasmus had already written two letters addressed to Paris, Epistles 661 and 666.

EPISTLE 732. *Auctarium*; Epist. iii. 19; C. 295 (302).

Erasmus to Glarean.

Your twin letters, my very dear Glarean, have given me a double pleasure. Your father's death ought to be patiently borne, especially when his age is considered.

While I congratulate you on your good fortune in France, I pray it may last; seeing that these favours of Princes are especially apt to be transitory. I am sorry you are preparing to run away, as I am afraid that, while you are following those other objects, what you have in hand may slip away. It would perhaps have been better to leave the testamentary business in your brother's hands. At any rate, let me know when you propose to start on your journey; perhaps we may be fellow travellers.†

I am glad that you are in favour with Lefèvre, who is in my opinion a learned, honest and kindly man, and has only

* Anno M D 18, 17 Cal. Feb. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 16. Januarii, Anno 1518. *C.*

† It is not explained, what journey Erasmus had in view in which he might travel with Glarean. But as he might have occasion to go himself to Switzerland, they might perhaps travel up the Rhine valley together.

been unlike himself in dealing with me. That I am aware has been instigated by others ; but it was not worthy of a man of his character to be induced by any influence to make such a wild attack on the credit of one who had a sincere love for him, as you have yourself been able to gather from my conversation about him. My reputation was not much damaged, while he has compromised his own, a thing which I regret more than you will believe. He is at work, I hear, upon an *Apologia*. This I neither recommend,—as I should be sorry that any handle should be given to those who, while for want of fluency they dare not come down themselves into the arena, are striving with a sort of tyrannical cunning, to pit us two against each other,—nor on the other hand do I dissuade. One piece of advice you may give him, if your intimacy will admit it,—to refrain from such facetiousness as I hear of ; he may otherwise find, that I am not toothless, and will perhaps be sorry, when it is too late.

I liked the little book on *The Three Magdalens* ;* but I would not have the matter in question reduced to such narrow limits, that whoever said, that Christ rose *after three days*, spoke against the Church, against the Articles of the Faith and against all Truth ; for upon these Symplegades † he drives the argument. In the first place the proof by which he shows that *μετὰ* has the sense of *inter*, is not conclusive. *Μετὰ χειρὸς*, that is, in hand, where *μετὰ* is put for *κατὰ*, and *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, for *καθ' ἡμέραν*, are not to be classed with *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, especially as that form of expression *μεθ' ἡμέρας ἕξ*, *μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ* and the like, are frequent in the New Testament. And lastly *Synecdoche*, ‡

* This appears to be another work of Lefèvre.

† The Symplegades were some shifting rocks, which are mentioned in the story of the Argonauts.

‡ *Synecdoche* is defined as a figure, by which part is taken for the whole, or the whole for part.

which in this case cannot be excluded, serves also to solve the difficulty. "He arose after three days," that is, after the beginning of the third day. If he who makes this statement contradicts the Articles of the Faith,—and the Church so reads without contradiction for so many years,—I should think it wiser to deal with the matter in a less tragic fashion, especially as we have *Synecdoche* at hand to help us! And if he explains the first night by allegory or by *Catachresis*,* why is he afraid in this passage to admit the universally accepted *Synecdoche*?

This, my Glarean, I write in a spirit of friendship for him, whatever feeling he has for me. If you can conveniently do so, you will gently call his attention to these points; and ask him at the same time,—if he is preparing an answer to me,—that he will send me, as soon as he can, a written copy, for which I would pay the cost, in order that I may either admit my fault, or defend myself. For having once received such a blow from him, I am not bound to have any great confidence as to the future. And if he is capable of yielding to the instigation of mischievous people, there are plenty of such about. In any case I should be sorry, if on my account he became in the slightest degree less friendly to you.

I wonder that Budé has not written for so long. Farewell, half of my soul.

The Lily, Louvain, 18 January, 1518.†

The following letter is addressed to William Nesen, a young scholar, whom we have formerly seen at Basel, acting as corrector of

* *Catachresis*, misuse of words, where they are not employed in their proper meaning.

† Iovananio (sic) An. m. d. 18. 15 cal. Feb. Ex lilio. *Deventer MS.* Lovanij anno m. d. xviii. Calend. Febr. *Auctarium.* Lovanio 1. Februarii, Anno 1518. C. The Lily appears to be the name of the Hall or College, at which Erasmus was staying.

Froben's press. Epistles 321, 445, vol. ii. pp. 196, 371, 383. He has now gone to Paris, where he has become an assistant or secretary of Cyprianus Taleus.

EPISTLE 733. Farrago, p. 336 ; Epist. x. 31. C. 291 (299).

Erasmus to William Nesen.

You are fortunate indeed,—enlisted as you are in the Muses' service under Cyprian Taleus, a person distinguished not only for his learning and integrity, but also for his rare prudence and marvellous experience of life. When he has acquired a knowledge of Greek, I do not see what can be added to the man's accomplishments. In all other branches of learning he has long been so perfect, without any professional conceit, that I know not whom I can compare with him. See therefore again and again that you do not throw away your advantages ; be a true German, and despoil Gaul of her learning ; in so doing you will not leave her the poorer, while you will return to your own country enriched with the noblest of wares. In this field we should show ourselves strong and invincible, and not let it appear that we Germans have surrendered to Gauls !

I especially beg you to call in my name upon Peter Vitré,* who is living at the College of Navarre, and let me know how he is, and what he is doing ; for it is a long time since he has written anything at all. And then you must let me know what Thomas Grey† is about, as he also is mute.

As to the *Apologia*, which some people say that Lefèvre

* Petrus Viterius, an old friend, and a later legatee under Erasmus's will. See vol. ii. pp. 312, 449, 476.

† Thomas Grey, an old pupil, associated with Vitré in Epistle 509. See vol. ii. pp. 312, 476.

is preparing, I have no fear at all ; only it is vexatious to be spending valuable hours upon such trifles, when I have scarcely time enough for more important matters. At the same time I see, that the enemies of Letters are purposely endeavouring to pit us against each other, with a cunning worthy of tyrants ; for there is nothing so formidable to tyranny as the concord of honest citizens. What his object is, he must consider for himself. I regret the loss of our old friendship, seeing that in challenging me he has not done the best for his own good name ; and if he should be instigated by anyone to make a new and more spiteful challenge, it may be that I shall not be able to control my temper as I have hitherto done. What have they to do with quarrels of this kind, who worship at the shrine of the Muses and Graces,—or, I should rather say, who profess themselves votaries of Christ ? How much better, to vie with each other in mutual services ! But no one fights more keenly, than he who is dragged against his will into battle. Would that my own steel were rusting in its sheath, or, if it must be drawn, that I were not forced to draw it against a friend !

I have almost finished the New Testament over again, and how many times have I made honourable mention of Lefèvre in it,—unless it is in itself an insult to differ in opinion from him, when he differs, himself, from everybody ! I still wish you to love and respect the man ; and would not have him lose a hair in your regard on account of this little conflict between us.

Farewell, my special friend. My boy, John Smith, sends his greeting to you, and would have written, but was prevented, not by business, for he has none to trouble him, nor by leisure, of which has more than enough !

From the Lily, Louvain, January 18, 1518.*

* Louanio, 15 Cal. Feb. *Deventer MS.* Louanij. M. D. XVIII. xv. Calendas Februrarias, Ex Lilio. *Farrago.*

Erasmus appears to have addressed more than one letter to William Latimer, an English scholar who was resident at Oxford, with a view to induce him to take part in the correction of the text of the Greek Testament, and also to give up some of his time to assist the Bishop of Rochester in his Greek studies. The following epistle, which contains Latimer's reply to these applications, was published by Erasmus in the collection entitled *Farrago Epistolarum*. Though somewhat lengthy, it is not altogether without interest, as illustrating the condition of these studies in England at the time.

EPISTLE 734. *Farrago*, p. 318 ; Epist. x. 22 ; C. 292 (301).

William Latimer to Erasmus.

I have received, most learned Erasmus, your letter, addressed to me on the 21st of November, in which you thank me for having promised my help,—as you write,—in the correction of the New Testament, although I have not anywhere, as far as I know, made any such promise. Not that I should have been unwilling to do so, if I had thought it would be of any use to you ; but with all your learning, and after all the care, which I understand from your Preface you have spent upon the work, I saw that no change could possibly be made by me unless for the worse, nor any addition which would not be superfluous. But I think it is our More, who has imposed upon you this fictitious obligation to me, as he did take some pains to treat with me about this very matter, when I was last at his house in London. On the same occasion he also spoke of the Bishop of Rochester, about whom you had written to me some months before ; but it so happened that I first read your letter on the very day I fell in with More ; and he took that opportunity of discussing both matters carefully with me. But when I had decidedly refused both his requests,—because, as to the Bishop, I knew that in so short a time (he asked for a month)

I could not be of any use to him, and in the other matter, because it was quite clear to me, that I should be throwing my labour away,—he left the Bishop's affair entirely to me ; but as to your work he began to insist more and more, that I should help you in any way I could, and offer you my co-operation in rehandling the New Testament.* That tribute, he affirmed, was due both to your singular kindness, and to our intimacy and affection ; and it was also due to the interest of the Public ; on whose behalf he maintained that you were engaged ; and he alleged several other arguments which, as I admit them to be important, so I plead, that in my case, if I were able to do anything, they would surely not be needed. For indeed, Erasmus, there is not, nor will there ever be, any want of will on my part, either to do you honour, if the occasion should arise, or to assist in any matter in which I can be of use to you. But having been for eight or nine years so engaged in other studies, that I have scarcely touched a page of Greek or Latin, what should I, or indeed what could I, promise in answer either to More's proposal, or to your request, when I am heartily ashamed—to say the truth—of even writing a letter to one, who is such a master of language as you are ? And had I not gathered from what you have written to me, that you are expecting more from me than I either ought to promise or could perform, I should not have written you this very letter. And for the same reason I have hitherto omitted to answer your other letter, because I felt myself so completely a stranger to this kind of work ; and I trust that this conduct, though it has hitherto appeared to savour of negligence or ingratitude, will now at any rate be pardoned upon my confession of the truth.

But beside this long intermission of study, there is another consideration, which is perhaps still less favourable to your

* in retractando hoc Novo Testamento. The matter in hand was the editing of a new edition.

request. The writers who have left anything in Sacred Literature, employed, as a general rule, far different words and different figures of speech from those used by the old Greek authors, and stand so far apart from that ancient language, which I formerly studied, that there is not much in them that I understand,—nothing in fact about which I could venture to make any promise, considering that both the figures of speech,* on which the whole meaning sometimes depends, and the proper sense of the words used are not sufficiently known to me. But suppose that I knew them all perfectly well, and that I had lost nothing by that intermission in my studies, what now have you left for me, or for any man to do, when to that supreme learning and eloquence, in which by general admission and judgment you excel, you have added such care and industry, as abundantly to satisfy not only the studious and diligent, but even the scrupulous and curious reader? For, not to speak of the different editions of this New Testament in ancient hands, some traces of which are still to be found in old writers, or of the various and in some cases contrary readings, about which it is difficult to judge, having regard to the authority and learning of those who have left them to us,—and passing without notice the annotations of several more recent authors, all of which I do not doubt you have looked into and examined,—who, I ask, could wish for greater diligence than you show yourself to have used in this revision of the New Testament, above all, in the citation, emendation and exposition of the most approved authorities? What labour, what care, what anxiety is implied in these few words! I observe in passing so many illustrious names,—Origen, Chrysostome, Cyril, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary, authors whom few divines of our age read, and none understand; and then I take note of your

* locutionis figuræ. I presume that the construction of sentences is meant.

return to the Greek truth, that is, to the fountain itself, and, in the passages where it is required, to the Hebrew,—whether you have done this by yourself or, as you say, with the aid of your Theseus. And not content with this, you add the pure and uncorrupted fidelity of the most ancient manuscripts, without which perchance your labour would have been vain. But in this matter, I know not which most to admire,—your eagerness in seeking, or your good fortune in finding what you sought; such is the paucity of those books, especially of the Greek.

Therefore after that rare diligence of yours, such as no one else, I think, had ever employed upon such a work, there is no reason for your expecting anything from me; especially when you consider my ignorance of the language used by your authors, and my almost complete forgetfulness of scholarship altogether. Nevertheless I will read your work through with care and attention; and this I shall do, not on your account, but on my own, that I may learn something from it; though on your account too, Erasmus, I shall gladly read it; and if anything occurs that I do not approve (of which I guess there will be little or nothing), I will not fail to inform you by letter. This is what, if I am not mistaken, I promised our friend More to do; so that you must not think that he deserves a scolding for neglecting your commission.

As to what you are so often writing to me about the Bishop of Rochester,—you certainly show a singular love for that excellent Prelate, and at the same time an admirable desire to promote the study of Greek, which you are endeavouring to make familiar to a person so distinguished and learned; under whose patronage it will not only be safe from censure and detraction, but will be pleasing and acceptable to almost the whole of Britain. For who will venture to attack it, when it is defended by a Bishop, or who will hesitate to embrace it, if he knows it to be approved by so

great a dignitary? And at this juncture I understand that my intervention is desired by you and our friend More, thinking, as you do, that it may perhaps be in my power, and even be my duty as a patriot, to lend some help.

For this matter, I do beg of you, Erasmus, that, in the first place, you will not think me so ill-natured, or so rude, as to grudge the construing of one book, or the labour of a single month, when my help is requested by my dearest friend, to whom I am aware that I owe much more than I can repay in many months; or in the next place think me so unwise as to be unwilling to oblige a person of such importance, and to earn by a slight exertion the favour of a bishop, not only distinguished for his learning and sanctity of life, but also in possession of great influence and authority; or lastly think me so heedless as to let slip so good an opportunity of promoting, in this single individual, the cause of Good Letters, and of conferring with little labour a great distinction on my country.

But there is another consideration, which dissuades me from your very complimentary proposal. I know that in so few days I could not satisfy either your expectation or that of the Bishop. For it is, as you are aware, a complicated task, and, though more laborious than difficult, it is one that requires time,—at any rate sufficient to commit the language to memory. You must not suppose that I am measuring other people's faculties by my own slowness. For I believe, as I have heard from many persons, that the Bishop's capacity is of no common kind, and equal to far greater matters than are now in question; and you tell me in your letter of the ardent desire he has for this learning. From these circumstances I might well hope for rapid and favourable progress,* but after all, in so short a time, the result would be but small. For I remember that Grocin, a person, as you

* sperare prospectum. *Read* provectum.

know, of multifarious learning and of powerful and practised intellect, devoted his entire attention to this study for two years continuously, even after he had learned the first rudiments, and that under the best preceptors, Demetrius Chalcondyles* and Angelo Poliziano; and that Linacre, also a man of quick intellect, spent as many years or more under the same teachers. I do not speak of myself, who after six or seven years am not ashamed to confess my imperfect knowledge; and I also pass by the cases of Tunstall and Pace, who, by the ignorance or carelessness of their teacher, were perhaps detained longer than their abilities required. You know, yourself, how quick More is, how eager his intellect, and with what energy he pursues any work that he has begun, in brief, how like he is to yourself. I am not inclined to go nearer,—for to remind you of your own capacity would be unnecessary, and perhaps very like flattery. Nevertheless I think that neither of you will say that he has travelled over this difficult ground at such a pace, that he could proceed at his pleasure, after a month or two, without a guide. If therefore you want the Bishop to go forward and reap some harvest in this field of learning, do get him to send to Italy for an experienced teacher, who may stay with him some time, until he feels himself able not only to creep along, but to stand up and walk. In this way you will, I feel sure, better provide for his future eloquence, than if you leave him still stammering, and almost puling like an infant in the cradle. Farewell.

I am sending you, my Erasmus, a letter of some length, to compensate by an excess of loquacity for my former silence; but you will take the blame on yourself, as you have written

* Demetrius Laonicus Chalcondyles, a Greek scholar of the fifteenth century, occupies, with his account of English manners, half a page of our first volume Vol. i. p. 204.

to me so often about these matters, that I felt bound not to spare words in my reply. Farewell again.

Oxford, 30 January, 1518.*

After this discouraging letter, I do not think that we are able to pursue any further the history of Bishop Fisher's intended Greek studies.

* Oxonij. iii. Calend. Feb. *Farrago*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Correspondence of the month of February, 1518. Letter of John Eck to Erasmus; letters of Erasmus to Desmoulins, Prout, Wentford, More, Sixtinus, Vannes, Latimer and Budé. Residence at Louvain and Antwerp. Epistles 735 to 744.

IN the early days of February, 1518, Erasmus appears to have been still at Louvain, which had now been his usual place of residence since the first week of July in the previous year (see vol. ii. p. 575); and his earliest letter which we may ascribe to this month of February,—Epistle 736, addressed to John Desmoulins,—is still dated from that city. All the later letters of the same month are dated on the 21st and 22nd days from the city of Antwerp, whither Erasmus may be conjectured to have gone for a short visit upon some matter of business, and to have availed himself of the spare time thus thrown on his hands out of reach of his books, for attending to his correspondence.

In a long letter addressed to Erasmus by John Eck, and dated at Ingolstadt in Bavaria, 2 February, 1518,—Epistle 735, C. 296 (303)—the writer finds fault with some passages in Erasmus's New Testament, in one of which he had ventured to suggest, that the author of St. Matthew's Gospel, trusting to his memory for the materials of his narrative, had made a mistake in his facts; and in another place had remarked upon the language of the New Testament, that the Greek found in it was not that of Demosthenes, but a vulgar dialect. His correspondent thinks it his duty to give a sincere opinion upon this mode of treating the Sacred Writings; every Christian must know, that the Apostles, on the day of Pentecost, were divinely instructed in the Greek as well as other languages; Erasmus therefore by his

criticism was presuming, after so many centuries, to supply the deficiencies of a Divine Teacher.

The writer also finds fault with a judgment expressed by his correspondent upon the respective authority of Augustine and Jerome, in which, referring to the former's commentary upon St. John, Erasmus had said, that he could not properly be compared with the latter; whereas the writer rather approved the opinion of Franciscus Philippius, who in one of his epistles had said, that Augustine was more acute and skilful in Philosophical subtleties than Jerome, and that the latter excelled more in eloquence than in learning; and in the conclusion of the same letter had added, that if the two could be made one, nothing in nature would be more perfect. The writer further observes that all Erasmus's admirers regretted that he had not read Augustine, and ventured to advise him to fill up this deficiency in his studies. He concludes with an apology for the boldness of an old reader and admirer, and begs for a letter in return. The answer of Erasmus was dated on the 18th of the following May.

Epistle 736 was written by Erasmus to a correspondent whose name is wanting at the head of the letter, as it is printed in the Leyden edition of Epistles, C. 1657 (240); and we may presume is also wanting in the Deventer manuscript, from which it appears to be taken; but it is pointed out by the editor that there is sufficient reason for inserting in this place the name of Joannes Molendinus or John Desmoulins, who appears to be somewhat obliquely referred to in the letter itself, as the person to whom it is addressed. And it may also be observed, that Richard Sampson, writing to Erasmus from Tournay not many days later (Epistle 745), refers to an epistle of his correspondent to John Desmoulins, in which the writer had called Sampson his *unicus patronus*, an expression which is in fact so applied in the last sentence of the Epistle before us. In the printed copy,—C. 1657,—the date of this epistle is *Lovanio, Anno 1517*, and in accordance with this indication it may probably be attributed to the month of February, 1517-18. It appears to have been, about the end of that month, shown by Desmoulins to Dr. Sampson, then himself at Tournay, as the last communication received from Erasmus. C. 305 D. See further, p. 275. It will be remembered that we have met with John Desmoulins before,—in the summer of 1515,—in the character of a Canon of Tournay who would gladly have welcomed Erasmus as a member of the same Chapter, when that preferment appeared

probable. Vol. ii. pp. 211, 228. This epistle appears to be an answer to a letter of Desmoulins, which has not been preserved.

EPISTLE 736. Deventer MS.; C. 1657 (240).

Erasmus to John Desmoulins.

I am delighted to hear that you like Pace, and that Pace likes you. It is quite right,—as all that belongs to friends is their common property,*—then we should also treat our friends themselves as common friends. As for the Epistle which he wrote to Dorpius on my behalf, I was so pleased with it, that I thought it better suppressed!

I am extremely glad that our Paraphrase is approved by persons so approved, and I wish that I had been always employed in such fields; I had rather write six hundred Paraphrases, than one Review.† But a word with you! It is very charming of you, to give your applause to our efforts such as they are, but you will do better still, if you come down yourself into the field. That last epistle of yours shows what eminence you might attain, if the better part of you were not claimed by affairs, not indeed of a sordid kind, but not worthy of a genius born for heavenly studies!

As to Lefèvre's *Apologia*, your opinion of which you say you have given at greater length in a former letter, I must tell you,—that letter has not been delivered to me. You write that our *Apologia*, has been worked out with much skill; but you would form a different judgment, if you knew that it was conceived, begun and finished within twelve days; and as for your allusion to its sting, how glad should I have been to be allowed to abstain from all stings, especially

* *Amicorum communia omnia.* Erasmi *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. i. Proverb. 1.

† *quam unicam recognitionem.* I presume that by the word *Recognitio* the writer points to his *Apologia ad Fabrum Stapulensem.*

against Lefèvre, for whom I have a sincere regard. But if a work appears to have a sting, which is forced from me in self-defence, and which without contumely, repels the contumelious charge of impiety, what term will you apply to his *Apologia*, which without any reason imputes the crime of blasphemy against Christ? It is difficult to prescribe a limit to the grievance of another; if Desmoulins had been attacked with such weapons, his feelings would perhaps be different! But I am surprised at the man, not at any rate writing to me either to excuse or to defend himself, especially after having been challenged more than once to do so by letters from me.

I congratulate Master Adrian the physician, and indeed almost envy him, not only for his ample converse with the stars, and for his happy progress in Greek, but also because,—thanks to Linacre,—he has the *Therapeutice*, for that is the direction in which my scent is led by his prognostics.* Pray take the trouble to convey my salutation to the man; and also to my especial patron, Doctor Sampson, and to Eleutherius Audax with his colleague, whose name has escaped my memory, and, as I write, I have not your letter at hand. Farewell.

Louvain, [February, 1518].†

The following short letter of Erasmus is in the *Farrago Epistolarum* addressed 'Thomæ Parcio Secretario Urbis Calesiensis.' It may be conjectured, that the person so described as Secretary of the town of Calais was Thomas Prout, or Prowde, who appears by the Calendar of State Papers to have held in the year 1515, and, for some

* quod Therapeuticen habet opera Linacri: id enim ex illius prognosticis sum odoratus. The sentence appears obscure, and perhaps requires correction. Can it be, that Doctor Adrian had by favour of the author obtained a copy of a dissertation of Linacre, which existed only in manuscript?

† Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

following years, the office of 'Bailiff of the Lordship of Mark and Oye' (part of the territory of Calais in the English occupation),* and who was not improbably, at the date we have now reached, the chief official resident in that town. It may be conjectured, that the address written upon the original letter of Erasmus was *Thomæ Protio*, and that this surname being unknown to the copyer or printer was misread *Parcio*. The description which follows the name,—*Secretario Urbis Calesiensis*,—is not found in the draft or copy of this letter in the Deventer Manuscript, but, as it is printed in *Farrago*, was not improbably added by Erasmus himself, as a loose description of the office filled by his friend. The letter is dated in *Farrago*, *Pridie Cathedræ Petri*, that is, as it may be best understood, on the Eve of the festival, called *Cathedra Petri in Antiochia*, which was celebrated on the 22nd of February.† This epistle must accordingly be ascribed to the 21st of that month. The year date is not in the Deventer Manuscript, but being so printed in *Farrago* under the authority of Erasmus or his editor (see vol. i. Introduction, p. xxxi.), it may be accepted as right. The 'Deputy' or Governor of Calais at this time (1517-8) was Sir Richard Wingfield, who had held the office for some years, but was not always resident there. Calender of State Papers, vol. ii. pt. 2, No. 2820, 4496, &c.

EPISTLE 737. *Farrago*, p. 197 ; Epist. vii. 41 ; C. 330 (321).

Erasmus to Thomas Prout.

I am sending the bearer, my servant John Smith, to England upon business, and expect him shortly to return. I beg you to help him to make the passage as soon as he conveniently can, and also upon his return to send me by him a letter, to tell me how you are, and how the matter goes

* Brewer, ii. 242, 1725, 3872.

† Another festival, called *Cathedra Petri in Roma* was celebrated on the 18th of January, but I ascribe this epistle to the later feast named after Antioch, because it was written at Antwerp, where Erasmus was at that date, but not, as far as we know, in the preceding month.

on with those *Mercuries* of yours,—and what your Nymph is about.* Please commend me heartily to the Captain of the town, whom they choose to call Deputy, a most obliging person, to whom I am myself much indebted. Farewell, dearest Prout.

Antwerp, the Eve of Peter's Chair † (21 Feb.), [1518].

The following short letter, addressed to Roger Wentford, bears the same date as the last epistle,—*Pridie Cathedræ Petri*. It appears from this letter, that Wentford had in his hands the manuscript of some of Erasmus's Colloquies, which the author was proposing to publish. We shall have to return to this subject in a later page. See Epistle 794.

EPISTLE 738. Deventer MS. ; C. 1681 (286).

Erasmus to Wentford.

Your having addressed More's letter to me, and mine to him is not wrong at all, as whatever belongs to either of us, belongs more to the other than to him. You will gratify me very much, if you will deliver the notes, which you say you have stolen from Grocyn, to my John, the bearer of this letter, who will either bring them himself, or take care they are otherwise conveyed to us. Also, if you will send us those playful and convivial Dialogues, which you have by you ; I shall so revise and enrich them, that I reckon they will be no contemptible memorial of our friendship, as I intend to have them published with a dedication to you.

Antwerp, the Eve of Peter's Chair, ‡ (21 Feb.) 1518.

* Of Prout's *Mercuries* we know no more than of his Nymph.

† Antuuerpiæ pridie cathedræ Petri. *Farrago*.

‡ Pridie Cathedræ Petri. Deventer MS. In Le Clerc's edition this letter is,—apparently by some mistake,—printed with the date, *Antuerpia 28 Junii, Anno 1518*. It appears by the date of place to have been written during Erasmus's short visit to Antwerp, Feb. 20-22, 1518. Compare the date of the last epistle.

Epistle 739, addressed to More is dated on the Feast of Peter's Chair, the day following the date of the last two letters, which were no doubt sent with it to More. The book lately published by Pace, which here falls under the strictures of Erasmus, was entitled, *Ricardi Pacei, invictissimi Regis Angliæ primarii Secretarii, eiusque apud Elvetios Oratoris, De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur liber*. A Treatise on the fruit, or advantages, of Learning, it bears date at the end: *Basileæ apud Io. Frobenium, Mense vii Ibrī [Octobri] An. M. D. XVII*. A copy of this book in the British Museum is bound up with another little volume, published by Froben in March, 1517, on a kindred subject, entitled *Scipionis Carteromachi Pistoriensis Oratio de laudibus literarum Græcarum*, which has at the top of the title-page an autograph of Archbishop Cranmer (Thomas Cantuarien), and at the bottom of the same page the signature of Lord Lumley. It should be observed that Erasmus's criticism of Pace's book, contained in the following letter, was not intended for publication, and was not in fact published until long after the death of all the persons interested.

EPISTLE 739. Deventer MS.; C. 1681 (287).

Erasmus to More.

It is hard to say, whether I am more sorry or more surprised at what has happened to our Pace,—that he should take it into his head to publish that booklet of his. It shows an utter lack of that judgment in which I did not suppose him to be so wanting; and I am sorry, not only on his account,—being as much concerned for his credit as for my own,—but also on account of your Britain, which has, I am sure, expected a very different sample of genius from her scholar; and finally I am sorry on my own account, being so often mentioned by him,—I do not doubt with a friendly intention, but in such a way, that, if he were an enemy, he could not do me more mischief. For what any reader is likely to demand of me as his surety,—what I have ever

guaranteed on his behalf, I do not reckon to be of much weight. Has he never considered, that he is meddling with something sacred, when he hands down a friend's name to the world and to posterity, and has no regard to anything but the consumption of ink and paper? What purpose could it answer to recall those trifles about the roll, about heresies, about poverty? * Does he think that whatever chatter is uttered by brawlers over their cups is worth publishing for the reading of the world? But it is late to bewail this now. I only hope that, knowing the man so well, you will give him a hint, not to make such an abuse of Literature again; and that, if he translates from the Greek, he had better lean on somebody else's judgment, and undertake no other part but the correction of the style. I did suppress, for the sake of his own credit, the Epistle which he wrote in my defence to Dorpius; and I only wish I could suppress this booklet too.

I have written this plainly to you, my More, because I was sure, that the messenger was to be trusted; and I would write the same to the man himself, if I had not so often found, what a high opinion every one has of his own genius; and in cases of this kind people are more ready to listen to spoken advice. Farewell.

Antwerp, the Feast of Peter's Chair (22 February), 1518.†

It may be observed, that in spite of Erasmus's adverse judgment, Pace's little book, handsomely printed in Froben's press, appears to have found readers, and was reprinted in a second edition.

In the following letter, written, no doubt, to accompany the last to England, Erasmus informs Sixtinus of the journey to Basel, which

* *nugas illas de rotulo, de hæresibus, de paupertate.*

† *Antuerpiæ, festo Cathedræ Petri An. m.d. 18. Deventer MS. Antuerpiæ. 29. Junii, Anno 1518. C.*

he now foresaw would be necessary to enable him to complete and print, to his own satisfaction, the proposed second edition of the New Testament.

EPISTLE 740. Deventer MS.; C. 1669 (261).

Erasmus to Sixtinus.

I earnestly beg you to see that my John may get the things I want from Peter Ammonius, and that without delay; as the publication of the New Testament compels me to go to Basel again, if not to Venice. This trouble I have fetched for myself in my own coach, as they say; but the bread we have soaked we must eat.*

The Pope and Prince are acting a new farce, with their make-believe war against the Turks, when what is really in hand is something quite different. We have reached the highest level, both of tyranny and of shamelessness. In this country the robbers had begun to stalk about in the middle of the cities; but the Magistrates have woken up at last.

Farewell, most trusty of friends, and most beneficent of patrons!

I had already written the above, when your letter was delivered by Francis. I have received the money from Maruffo's people. Francis says that the money has not been paid him over there, because there was something wrong in the bill. I now send one that is all right.

I have written more distinctly to Peter Ammonius, and I trust he will now act. How persistently the Italian character is everywhere alike!

About Lefèvre there are different reports. Some say, he

* sed quod intrivimus exedendum est. This proverbial saying is borrowed from Terence. Tute hoc intristi; tibi omne est exedendum. *Phormio*, Act. III. sc. i. See before, p. 194.

is preparing an *Apologia*; others, that he agrees with me. He must see for himself; if he seeks it again, he shall be received as he deserves.*

Mountjoy is like himself, either promising or complaining. The Reverend gentleman was not ashamed to offer twenty pounds,† and *he* would have had me expect a hundred; when I have so often found that not promises only, but oaths were forgotten.‡

About Peter Gillis's health I have not been spreading any rumour, though I did express my regret in writing to More; and I only wish that rumour were without foundation. It is indeed, *ry Sixtinus*, only too true; so that in his peril I am sadly afraid for myself.

Antwerp, 22 February, [1518].§

The following short note, dated the same day as the last, was no doubt despatched with it to England, being addressed, *Erasmus Petro Ammonio suo Lucensi*, to Peter Vannes of Lucca (the kinsman and executor of Ammonius), who appears to have been still in London. See pp. 39, 40.

* *Ipse viderit: si repetit, accipietur ut dignus est.* I confess I do not follow with any confidence the meaning of this. To put the kindest construction upon it, we may interpret it: If he seeks to be on our old terms of friendship, I shall be glad to meet him halfway. But it appears to be open to a different construction.

† *Non pudebat Reverendum offerre viginti libras.* The personage indicated by the word *Reverendus* was probably Wolsey, the *ille* in the following clause being Mountjoy. This letter, evidently written in confidence, was not published during the author's life.

‡ *Expertus sum non promissa solum, verum etiam dejerata.* One or two words appear to be omitted.

§ *Antuerpiæ, 8 Cal. Martias. C.*

EPISTLE 741. Deventer MS. ; C. 1669 (260).

Erasmus to Peter Vannes.

I beg and entreat you to deliver to my servant, the bearer, whatever letters you have of Ammonius to me or of mine to him, relating to my business. I do not doubt, that you are interested in your cousin's glory ; and I intend to take means to provide for his immortality ! Therefore do not, I beg, let my servant be at all delayed about this matter. If anything should arise, in which I can gratify you, you shall find me heartily your well-wisher. Farewell.

Antwerp, 22 February, 1518.*

When I had written the above, your two letters have both come to hand at the same time. They are inexpressibly welcome to me, being such as to give me the utmost hope † * * *

The postscript, as printed in C. is incomplete, some words or lines having been apparently torn off from the original before the copy was made,—either by accident, or more probably on purpose, to conceal a private matter from curious eyes.

Replying in a bantering vein to the letter of Latimer (Epistle 734), Erasmus accepts his correspondent's promise to read his Greek Testament, but expresses some fear, that his suggestions would now come too late, as Froben's press was already calling for copy.

EPISTLE 742. *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, p. 426 ; C. 378 (363).

Erasmus to William Latimer.

What a pleasure it has been, most learned Latimer, to recognize in your letter to me, the sweet candour, and more

* Antuerpiæ, 8 Kal. Mart. D. Antuerpiæ 22 Februrarii, Anno 1518. C.

† ut ex his summa mihi spes sit * * C. The rest of the sentence is lost.

than virgin modesty of your character, united as these qualities are with Christian prudence! You mention no name without praise: but what caution in your praise! And again, while you are so liberal and kind in calling attention to the accomplishments of others, how unwilling you are to assume any merit yourself! I did wish nevertheless, that you had not been so eloquent in your excuses. For when I thought I had collected a multitude of weighty reasons, to induce you, first, to consent to come to our aid in revising the New Testament, and in the next place, to bestow a month's work upon an incomparable Prelate, who wishes to add the Greek language, as a sort of colophon, to his profound learning, in both which employments you would be furthering the general utility of studies,—you meet me with such troops of arguments, as make me quite aware, how speechless and feeble I am in comparison with you. Nevertheless, my dear Latimer, I shall patiently allow you to carry off the palm of eloquence, provided you let us have in our turn the service we ask, which will be all the more welcome, if it shall appear to have been not extorted by arguments, but freely and voluntarily given.

As to your assistance in my work, you do at last all but promise, and I welcome the promise, even though I fear that your auxiliary forces will bring us no more effectual aid, than those of Rhesus to the Trojans.* For Froben's office has long been demanding copy.

As regards the Bishop of Rochester, I am still less in agreement with you. You think it better not to attempt to do anything at all, unless you complete what you begin; and you advise that some expert in Greek learning should be fetched from Italy, who may remain with the Bishop

* The allusion is to Homer, *Il.* x. 435, and Virgil, *Æneid.* i. 469. Rhesus of Thrace was one of the latest arrived auxiliaries of the Trojans, and was killed by Diomed.

until he is grown to maturity in this branch of study. But as this is more easily desired than done, our conclusion has been that of the Play, we must do what we can.* Italy is a long way off, and has not now so many persons distinguished for learning, as she had when you were there. There was the risk too,—that instead of the distinguished scholar we send for, some bungler may arrive. And you are not unaware of the character of the Italians, nor at what rate, even those of small account expect to be paid for emigrating to barbarous countries; not to speak of persons who may come with a store of good letters, not always having morals of equal quality; and in this respect you know how nice the Bishop is. The result will be, that, while one looks about to see whom it is best to send for,—while one takes advice about the salary to be offered,—while the travelling arrangements are being made, a great deal of time is lost. I know it has been wisely and rightly said, "Deliberate before you begin, and after you have done that, do promptly what you have resolved;" but I observe that many people do nothing but deliberate, until it is too late to carry out their resolution. We all know the case of men who deliberate whether to marry or not, and then deliberate what lady they shall choose; meanwhile time is on the wing, and before they have made up their minds, they become confirmed old bachelors.

I am unwilling to suspect you of the common weakness of admiring nothing but what is brought from afar. To me any learned man is an Italian, even if he were born in Ireland; any man is a Greek, who has an accurate and happy knowledge of Greek authors, though he does not wear a beard! For my own part I stand up for the glory of Italy, if only because I find that country more favourable to me than my own fatherland; but to speak candidly what I

* Placuit illud Comœdiæ, ὡς οὐνάμεθα.

think,—if I could get Linacre or Tunstall for a teacher, not to speak of yourself, I should not want an Italian. I would therefore entreat you to consider, whether it is not unwise in the first place, to look abroad for what is to be found at home; and in the next place, to despise a fairly good instrument of which we have need, because we cannot get a superfine one; or to refuse any investment unless the very highest rate of interest is secured. Did not Grocyn himself, whose example you cite, first learn the rudiments of Greek in England? He afterwards travelled in Italy, and attended the lectures of the most distinguished professors; but meantime it was an advantage to him to have learned those rudiments, whoever may have taught them. When the pupil is intelligent, it is an important step merely to point out the way. I agree with you, that it is desirable, that even the first elements should be taught by a supreme artist,* if it can be done. But if it cannot, it is better to make a beginning somehow or other, than to remain altogether uninstructed, especially in this kind of study. It is something to be familiar with the letters, to read the Greek words with facility, to decline and conjugate. Do you think he has done nothing who has got through this amount of trouble? Therefore we do beg a month's assistance from you, tacitly hoping you will give us three, though ashamed to ask it; and if that cannot be, we have a good hope that some one else will meantime be found, who may build on your foundations. If that hope should fail us, still such is our student's force of intellect, and such his wish to learn, that we are confident he will by his own efforts struggle on at least to mediocrity; and with that perhaps he will be content, as he is not ambitious of being a Greek scholar, except for the purpose of studying his Bible with greater profit and securer judgment. And after

* *ab artifice summo.*

all, if no result is obtained, what harm is done? Suppose the Bishop's own studies are not much advanced, it will still be of no little use in encouraging the minds of the young, that so distinguished a person should be enlisted among the Grecians. And as in every kind of study an early initiation is important, so in the present case the Bishop's age makes me especially desirous, that the business should not be put off another day.

I will conclude with this one piece of advice, not to let your excessive bashfulness,—I had almost said your immodest modesty,—restrain you from giving your assistance to public studies. Some men of my stamp are over venturesome, but I am not sure, which are most wrong,—those who attempt nothing for fear of making mistakes, or those who occasionally blunder in their hasty anxiety to be useful. The latter teach many a noble lesson, though they may not be uniformly successful; and by their own study they stimulate the studies of others. The former keep what they have to themselves, and are, I think, even more to be blamed, than those discredited misers, who are rather custodians than owners of their money. In their case what they have amassed, is at any rate transferred on their death to the use of others, while after the funeral of the scholar, nothing comes to his heir, unless he has committed his thoughts to Letters. I am afraid, my William, that this is what will happen to our friend Grocyn. But I should be sorry, if it be your case too.

Farewell, my very good as well as learned friend, and make haste to fulfil your promise.

Antwerp, [February] 1518.*

We learn from the first sentence of the above letter, that Erasmus had obtained from Latimer a promise to assist him in the revision of his Greek Testament, the first edition of which had been published by

* Antuuerpiæ Anno M. D. XVIII. *Epist. ad Diversos.*

Froben in February, 1516. The second edition of Froben bears date, 1518; and in the same year the work was reprinted by Aldus at Venice, and by Knobloch at Strasburg.

The letter of Budé to which the following letter of Erasmus, Epistle 743, is a reply, does not appear to have been preserved. It is described at the beginning of Budé's later epistle, dated the 12th of April, 1518 (Epistle 770), as a hasty letter, which Hutten, who had apparently paid a visit to the French Court, had insisted on his writing, and of which the author had not himself kept a copy. Erasmus's letter in reply is printed as the first epistle in the important collection entitled *Farrago nova Epistolarum*, published in 1519. As an example of one of Erasmus's lengthy compositions in the epistolary form, it is here given in full. In the early part of his letter the writer uses some Greek words as a defence against a prying reader. These words are in our Translation printed in italic letters.

EPISTLE 743. *Farrago*, p. 3; Epist. iii. 51; C. 299 (305).

*Erasmus to Budé.**

About our affair at King Francis's Court, most excellent Budé, I knew what was being done, and I also remember what you have written; so you need not suppose me to have drunk of the Lethean stream, as you write!† It is true that I was so far from being anxious about the matter, that, when I observed that your kindness led you to act with too much vehemence and zeal, I wrote to warn you not to let this business be any trouble to you. If Fortune had hitherto attached me to the service of kings,—if my own temper, which always shrunk from such scenes, had not kept me free,—at any rate the age I have reached and my condition of health would now demand my retirement. And if I had thought fit to attach myself to any Prince at all, whom could I more properly serve than Charles,

* Erasmus Roterodamus Clarissimo viro Guilielmo Budæo, Christianiss. Galliarum Regis à Secretis s.d.

† See Epistle 710, p. 188.

the Catholic King,—whether because he is the greatest Sovereign of the age,—or because, whether I like it or not, he is mine,—or because he has been the first to invite me to his Court,—and that of his own accord,—upon terms sufficiently ample, and has also attached me to himself by more than ordinary kindness? Nevertheless I thought it ungrateful as well as uncivil to reject with haughtiness the favour of such a sovereign as King Francis, especially when I was in a position to enjoy the credit of such a distinction without risking my present position: and you had already written word, that you had ceased to press the matter. I was only curious to know what was * *the weak point*, which you said had been found *in him that bears the name of Little* *: Indeed, from the very first I had a touch of suspicion in my mind, that the proposal was not sincere on his part. For I am not so much attracted by the name of William,† as suspicious of the face of one, who in the first place is *a theologian*, and then a *preacher*,‡ and who, I fancy, is only doing what he does to make game of me, when he has caught me in the net!

As to Bishop Poncher, I was very curious to know what he was doing, and whether he was constant in that affection for us, which he professed when he was here,—and what he did profess was something uncommon and marvellous. Not that I wanted to obtain anything from him,—upon this point he might be called as a witness himself, knowing, as he does, what he offered and what my answer was,§—but that I thought it an honour, which might well be sought, to please

* . . . * τὸ ὑπουλον, quod tibi ἐν τῷ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μικρῷ deprehensum significabas. The person meant was William Petit, King Francis's Confessor. See p. 189, and vol. ii. pp. 468, 469.

† A name borne by several friends, including the correspondent addressed in this letter.

‡ primum θεολόγου deinde κηρυκτοῦ πρόσωπον. The second Greek word is strange, and the meaning of the whole sentence obscure.

§ See Epistle 510, Erasmus to Poncher, 14 Feb., 1517, vol. ii. p. 478.

that person, who is himself most in favour with all the best of men.

As to the illustrious Senator Deloin, to whom I had written by your suggestion,* I had a slight fear, that my letter might in some way have given offence, as he sent me no answer at all. For, I know, that for the last four months no letter has been brought hither from France, except this last one, which is dated at Paris on the shortest day,† but was sent hither from Mayence by our friend Hutten on the 20th of February. And as for what you write, that some persons had frightened you with this assumption,—that if the proposal had come off, there was a danger that you would all be in poor estimation,—I confess I could not read it without laughing. And there is no need, I think, of my begging a person so sensible and so kind as you, that I may not suffer for the manner in which other persons, either by mistake, or in jest,—or it may be on purpose,—may speak too magnificently about me. You would scarcely believe, how I am annoyed by the zeal of men of that kind, which often loads me with no slight prejudice.

I have not yet made up my mind, whether to deplore the lot of the Bishop, or to admire his patriotism, in undertaking an embassy fraught with so many difficulties, the negotiation being in the first place a troublesome one,—and that with the English, and in the winter season,—and lastly when every thing is on fire there with a new kind of plague.‡

I am truly glad that you like Hutten, as I was myself singularly delighted with the man's character.

I wish all things may be well with Tunstall. He has gone away in bad health, leaving one of his servants behind ; and

* See vol. ii. pp. 456, 489.

† *datas die brumæ*. See Epistle 712.

‡ As to Bishop Poncher's embassy to England, see p. 283, and see Brewer's Abstracts. The words, 'a new kind of plague,' are to be understood literally of an epidemic differing in some respects from any before known.

in Britain itself there is no place free from plague. He did certainly read your letter most greedily, and had already almost seen his way to a discussion worthy of you both.

About Lefèvre I do not quite understand what your meaning is, for as to what you say,—that “persons who are interested in my name greatly regret, that a handle has been given to those, who think this plan of ours * little suited to themselves,”—this sentiment is shared by myself. Indeed I do not think, that there is any one who likes it less than I, a fact which in my *Apologia* I did not conceal. And I do not believe there are many persons who have a more sincere regard for Lefèvre than myself. Neither shall I ever be able to induce my mind to do anything but hate my *Apologia*, and with it my victory, if I have gained one,—a necessary victory, but not glorious for me, however good the cause, and even an invidious success, being gained over an old and excellent friend; and, finally, one that is adverse to the studies of both, as I cannot hide from myself, that the Slanderers, who according to the Proverb need only an excuse, will be glad to seize the occasion.† It is indeed an unprecedented kind of warfare, in which the victor deplores his own lot, and pities the enemy who is fighting against him. Lefèvre is, I hear, preparing to renew the war, as if it was not enough to have played the fool *once* after that fashion. But I have reason to think it more probable, that there are persons who are spurring him on to take this course, than that he has himself made up his mind to do so. I was aware of the cruel issue of this contest; in which, if defeated, I should be forced to acknowledge a charge of impiety, and if victorious, must incur the accusation of unkindness, when I appeared to be engaged against a friend whose scheme of study was so

* hoc nostrum institutum sibi parum esse commodum.

† occasionem hanc arrepturos τοὺς καταλάλους, μηδενὸς εἰ μὴ προφάσεως δεομένους, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν.

nearly allied to mine, that I could not lower his estimation without detracting almost as much from my own ; and yet I had to refute him, unless I preferred to see the very stronghold of my own position endangered or abandoned. I saw too, how this conflict of ours would be misrepresented by the generality of people, who had never read either his invective or my defence, and would only find fault with what they might have heard somewhere over a bottle, that Erasmus was measuring swords with Lefèvre. But what, I beseech you in your fair judgment, would you have had me do, after he had assailed me so cruelly in books that were circulated through the whole world, and had openly accused of blasphemy and impiety one who, in the first place, was by his own admission a friend, and who had never provoked him by any injury ; and finally in a matter in which I am so far from being opposed to him, that I might rather appear to be on his own side, being blamed by some erudites for not having openly rejected his opinion, although it was a question that did not properly belong to the object I had then in view.

I should have been glad indeed, if the injurious attacks, made upon me by Lefèvre, had been of a kind that could be either disregarded, or to which one might submit with some acknowledgment of their moderation. Such a concession I would fain have made,—either to our friendship, or to Christian modesty, or to the general interest of learning. But to acknowledge a false imputation of impiety, is forbidden by piety itself. I therefore thought it better to be in some respects regardless of the Graces, than to appear as a detractor or an enemy to the dignity of Christ ; for it is in that character that he was putting me upon the stage.

Meantime this concession has been made to the Graces, that I abstain from retaliation, when I might readily have used it ; that, content to ward off the calumny aimed at myself, I bring no charge in return, and against a plaintiff

accusing me of a crime, I defend myself by a civil proceeding. And yet there are some persons, by whom my *Apologia* is censured as having a sting; as if, when attacked with deadly weapons, I was bound to propitiate my assailant with supplicatory blandishments, for fear of the continuance of his wrath! I do not in my notes or in the *Apologia* refute either of his own propositions: when what he represents to be the only pious opinion I could easily have rejected as impious and false,—and that I think with the general applause of Theologians. This has been another concession made to civility.

What then is the admonition you give us, most excellent Budé? Do you assume the character of Epimetheus, and now that the affair is done, advise that it should not be begun? After the overthrow of Troy do you propose to show, that Helen had better have been let alone? What you agree with me in wishing, I see, but what you advise I do not understand; unless you call your fault-finding by the name of advice. But if you find fault, you do so without cause; and if you advise, your counsel is too late. I acknowledge my misfortune in having been forced to engage in this dispute, from which I always shrank, and into which I could not have been drawn by any weapon but this. The fault I do not admit; on the contrary I should have plainly deserved blame, if I had held my tongue upon a charge of impiety, an accusation which not one of even the most saintly Fathers failed to repel with all his might. Glad indeed should I have been, my Budé, if you had been present at the right time as an adviser, and had restrained our friend Lefèvre from that unfriendly challenge! But after,—not to speak of other hard words,—he had made me ‘contumelious against Christ,’ ‘a subverter of the Prophetic intelligence,’ ‘a partisan of Judaism,’ ‘unworthily debasing the dignity of Christ,’ ‘opposing the spirit, and adhering to the flesh and to the letter,’ saying ‘things inconsistent and subversive of

one another, and that against the glory of Christ,'—after he had thus represented himself as the champion of His glory and me as its adversary, even proclaiming the peril in which I stood, if I obstinately adhered to what I had said, that is, unless I was ready to recant,* (for it is in these and in such like pleasantries that our mild and gentle Lefèvre, this friend of Erasmus, indulges, while he attacks the friend he loves so much)—after, I say, he had written and stuffed into his commentaries so many things of this kind against me, and had spread them through the world, so that I was for a while the only person that knew nothing of them,—after all this,—I submit the matter to your judgment, I acknowledge the law of friendship, and am ready without any exception to follow your counsel,—what do you judge ought to be done? Will you advise your friend, that I should thank Lefèvre for the honour he has done me, or that I should pretend not to know what he has written? But when his books are being published everywhere, who will believe, that the one person interested is the one person that does not know? Or do you say, that I should pass the matter over in silence,—that, when I am assailed with a serious accusation, not before one judge, but before the whole world, I should return no answer to my adversary, and so admit the whole charge?

But you tell me, it is unkind to quarrel with a friend. But is it kind, I beg you to say, to attack a friend in such a way without any provocation? Lefèvre, you say, is a friend; but one who has made such an assault has ceased to be a friend. If I had really been in error, it would have been for true friendship to conceal a friend's fault, and call his attention to it by a private letter. I should not myself have ever differed from him in my New Testament, if I had thought that his credit would suffer any stain; indeed, with

* hoc est, ni vellem παλινωδεῖν.

all the provocation I have received, I have not done violence to our friendship, nor, as far as in me lies, shall I ever do so. To spend your life in the cause of friendship is considered laudable ; but for the sake of a friend to admit yourself to be a blasphemer against Christ is not only madness, but impiety. Suppose Lefèvre to have been not merely a friend, but my brother or my father ; you will, I think, be of opinion that such a sacrifice would not have been due to him, that for his sake I should admit myself an adversary of Christ. If he had been a Cardinal, and my brother too, it would, as I judge, have been my duty, to repel an intolerable calumny in every possible way not injurious to any person. And indeed I do so repel it, that though my vanquished adversary may appear to have been unkind, I do not charge him with impiety, but do what I can to prevent any one from forming a worse opinion of him.

And now as to what you write, that up to this point we have been fighting for the truth, and that the matter may easily be set right for the future. Neither of us, my Budé, has been fighting for the truth, while he has been making me an adversary, when I was on his side. And indeed in my *Apologia* I do not propose to explain what my opinion is,—as there was no occasion for that,—but only repel the shafts which he has directed against me. Neither is there any hope, that the affair can be hushed up, as his volumes are now travelling everywhere through Spain, France, Italy, Germany and Britain, so that he is not in a position to suppress what he has written, nor I to hide my defence. Let him change, if he can, the passage in which he lacerates me, and I will do my best to suppress the *Apologia* in which I defend myself. Would you have me throw down my shield, while he still holds in his hand the weapons which are being launched at my head ? It is easy to prescribe a limit to the grief of your neighbour, and to preserve your equanimity while another person is suffering. If you were

by any chance in my position, your feelings would be different. Indeed, if I know aught of Budé, he would wield his buckler, his sword and his arrows with quite another arm.

Pray consider, my Budé, in the first place, how disgraceful the imputation of heresy and impiety is ; and observe how he inveighs against me, and that in very odious terms, after he has been so often most honourably commended by me ; and then, if you please, give sentence between us, which of us would be in fault, even if I had repaid him in his own coin,—if I had claimed the right of retaliation, and had answered invective with invective. It was only fair, that the whole blame should rest on the person who had given the first challenge, and had done it in such a way, that, unless I defended myself, I should have been deserting Augustine, Ambrose, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and in short all the other orthodox Fathers, and even Jerome himself,—as involved in a common accusation. For the last-named writer, though in two words of a suspected work he does in some sort lend his aid to Lefèvre,—is in other places, and especially in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, clearly with us.

In an unimportant discussion, every one may have his own opinion ; concessions may be allowed to friendship, to courtesy ; mistakes may be made and corrected ; even a perverse disagreement may be excused. In a debate of that kind no one shall ever complain of want of indulgence on my part. You know, my Budé, how at one time you skirmished with me, how in your own fashion you made game of my *λεπτολογήματα*, how you cast our books to the ground.* By these criticisms I was so little offended (although in jest you accused me of being so), that you were not a whit less dear to me than before. And yet it is true, as people say,

* See Epistles 422, 469, vol. ii. pp. 302, 416.

that authors do look with the same indulgence on their own books as parents on their children; and there were some people who wrote to urge me to the defence of my *Copia*. I was amused at the interest they took in the matter, and bade them make themselves easy, assuring them that there was a perfect understanding between us. But this persistent attack of Lefèvre is really too serious a matter, and I am surprised at the delight he appears to take in tragedies of this kind; as, for instance, where in the little book he lately compiled on *The Three Magdalens and the Three Days of Christ*,—for that is the title he gives it,—he reduces the terms of discussion to this narrow limit, that whosoever may assert, that Christ rose from the dead *after three days* must be held to contradict the Christian Faith and the Gospels. And yet that is the very statement, which is everywhere read (out of St. Mark) by the Latin Church,* and by the Greek Church too. Neither has the passage been ever read or written otherwise, until Lefèvre discovered this mystery, and asserted on the authority of Apollonius the Grammarian, that μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας meant 'within three days', as if this phrase were analogous to μετὰ χειρας. But if he had really been the first to discover a point, which is beyond dispute, it would have been more agreeable to Christian modesty and to his own character, that he should call attention to it more civilly. But we might well be surprised to find a person who has no liking for Grammarians, and who not long before found fault with Beda for trying to

* Atqui ita sane ex Marco . . Latina legit Ecclesia. C. The expression does not occur in the story of the event, but in a passage of the Gospel of St. Mark, x. 34; where Jesus is described as telling his disciples on his way to Jerusalem, that the Son of Man would suffer death at that place, and after three days rise again—καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται. The Vulgate and the English Translation escape the difficulty by substituting, in this passage, the expressions, *Et tertia die*, *And the third day*, for the words which create the question.

solve a knotty question by Grammar,—because he brought in a *Synecdoche* *,—endeavouring himself to explain so great a difficulty by the authority of one Grammarian, without whose help the whole Christian world might be singing and reading statements contrary to all Truth! And yet what need was there of this tragic mood, when by a single *Synecdoche* the whole matter might be cleared up, if we only understand that the resurrection was ‘after three days,’ when it took place after the beginning of the third day. For Lefèvre imagines that it is quite inconsistent to say, that a person arose after the third day, who in fact arose during the third day; although this difficulty might have been cleared up by other arguments, which there is no occasion to repeat here.

But as to these questions, they do not much affect me, and I am more concerned at his risk than at my own. When, however, I am attacked by name, and am described as an adversary of the glory of Christ, for whose glory, sinful man as I am, I would face the utmost danger and would not refuse to die, will you still bid me to be silent? But tell me, if it please you, which do you think deserves blame,—is it the mere fact, that I defend myself, or is it the manner of my defence? If you are too equitable to blame me for defending myself, you cannot complain of the manner of my doing it, when it is done in such a way, as to be as favourable as possible to my opponent. For what therefore do you think fit to find fault with me?† Do you judge, that it is my lot to be the one person

* Bishop Pearson (on the Creed, Art. I.) in a passage for which I am indebted to Johnson’s Dictionary, says that ‘our Saviour rose from the dead *on the third day* properly, and was *three days and three nights* in the earth synecdochically’; and synecdoche is defined by Johnson as ‘a figure of speech by which part is taken for the whole, or the whole for part.’

† quid est igitur quod me putet (*read* putes) objurgandum.

in the world attacked with impunity and trodden under foot by all, so that henceforth there shall be no dog so cowardly as not to venture to bark at Erasmus, no ass so stupid that he fears to bray, no pig that dares not grunt? The mice defend themselves with their little teeth; the bees are ready with their stings; I alone am not to be allowed to raise a shield in my own defence, and that in a question of faith! Believe me, Budé, the man who can lightly bear the imputation of impiety, has not much piety to defend. You see with what thunder, with what lightning St. Jerome assailed Ruffinus, who had before been his dearest friend, only because, in a verse of figurative eulogy, he had been brought by him into some invidious associations; and with what wrath he answers and threatens Augustine, because he had ventured to find fault with the quotation of one passage. What would have been his course, if he had been sprinkled with such vinegar as Lefèvre has poured over me? For be he friend or foe,—whether he has intended it or not, whether instigated by others or of his own accord, in jest or in earnest, sober or the reverse,—this he has certainly done. The thing itself is too plain; I wish indeed we could both deny it. I am not to be compared with Jerome either in sanctity or in erudition, in prudence or in moderation of mind, and yet how much more cruelly assailed than he, with how much more moderation do I defend myself! ‘It is a hard matter,’ you say, ‘to control an impatient pen.’ Yes indeed,—and if I said all that I had a right to say, you might then comprehend, how much I have refused to my own resentment, how much has been conceded to moderation and courtesy.

You say,—“I felt bound to admonish you, that I might not appear to have failed when a friend was in danger.” But what danger is there, I should like to know, in my repelling a manifest calumny? Should I be safe, for the future, if I had admitted such compliments? Would you

have so much regard paid to James Lefèvre, that I should for his sake submit to be regarded as a blasphemer of Christ? Certainly as far as that question is concerned, I am safe in harbour, in the opinion even of unfavourable judges. And I shall be glad, if Lefèvre may be able in this respect to maintain his character for honesty and candour.

His most friendly advocates allege in his defence, that he has been instigated by some persons, who are no friends either to him or to me,—as if such a plea could have any weight in excuse of a man so learned, so philosophic, or of such an advanced age, and moreover in the case of so serious an indictment. But the majority will,—I am afraid,—subscribe to the opinion of those, who repeatedly say, that this conceited extravagance * has had its origin partly in a notable contempt of me, and partly in self-admiration. He had persuaded himself,—so they say,—that I was nothing but a mere talker, and he a Philosopher, a Theologian, whose every sentence was an oracle, and that nothing could be so carelessly written by such a man, but I must be at once overwhelmed in Cimmerian darkness. But he ought to have remembered, that there is nothing more mischievous in war than to despise your enemy, however weak he may be.

Others again conclude, that, having taken offence at my venturing to differ from him in several passages in my Annotations, he has in return poured out this cuttlefish juice against me, and has thus requited with supreme contumely the attention, for which he might fairly have been grateful. But if he is himself permitted to differ from Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, and indeed in one instance from all the ancient and approved authorities, may I not be allowed in the most respectful way to differ from Lefèvre? Or is this to be the condition of authors, that whoever disagrees

* istam tam supinam debacchationem.

with Lefèvre, is at variance with the Gospels and sacred utterances? A noble-minded man would, in the case of manifest errors, have thanked the adviser, who had pointed them out, and had done so not only with moderation, but even with deference. And yet Lefèvre has sent me no excuse or defence even by private letter, though more than once challenged by me to do so; indeed he is said to breathe some threats, as though he were himself the injured party. How much more straightforward was my conduct, when I wrote at once to tell him of the *Apologia*, before I began to write it, and as soon as it was finished, sent it to him by a scholar from the Sorbonne, with a letter to say what the occasion appeared to require.

I trust there is no risk of its being attributed to inconsistency on my part, that after having so often spoken highly of Lefèvre I have now to refute him. For any such difference in my opinion of him must be imputed to him, and not to me, seeing that he was the first to be so unlike his former self. The person who delivered to him my *Apologia* wrote me word, that he had on receiving it accused me of 'levity.' If it be levity to repel in a courteous way a false accusation, what name shall be given to so insidious an attack upon a friend? And indeed I should have been glad, if he had allowed me to be like myself, and to add something more to my eulogy of him. I have no wish even now to withdraw what I have said in his honour; indeed I am not yet able to reverse my opinion of him, and only wonder what has happened to the man. And after all, defence of self need not imply vituperation of another. It is a right we all have to repel force with force; and where the Christian faith is in question, it is an act of impiety to betray one's cause to an adversary.

I have not insisted upon having your judgment in this matter,—whether it has been that I saw it did not lie in your jurisdiction, or that I had no wish to burden one who is

fully occupied with other matters, or to put you into that most disagreeable position, in which, as arbiter between two friends, you might be forced to give offence to one or the other. And indeed I should have been glad, if I could have brought it about, that no mortal being should on my account be less friendly to Lefèvre, or he less kind to any one. But if you, my Budé, are not indisposed to take cognizance of this dispute, although, as I have already said, the matter does not quite belong to your tribunal, I do not decline your judgment, provided that you acquaint yourself with the whole state of the matter, that is, that you read our *Apologia*, not cursorily or gaping, as you say you have done, but attentively from beginning to end ; if not, I shall not hesitate to appeal. From whom and to whom,—you will say, since you have yourself chosen me judge ? From Budé asleep, I answer, to the same person, awake and attentive.

I am told, that many others are complaining of my having written against Lefèvre, but that they are generally persons, who have never looked either into his attack or my reply. If they disapprove of my enforced defence, why do they not rather direct their indignation against him for assailing me without any cause ? It is forsooth an unfriendly act, to raise a shield to protect one's heart, while it is a friendly act, to assail an ally with poisoned shafts !

But if your object is to reconcile your friends, there will not be much to do, as far as I am concerned. It is easy to make friends with a man who is angry in spite of himself, or indeed is only angry at his own ill-luck. How gladly would I have maintained our friendship unbroken ! And the next thing, which I now for many reasons desire, is to have it restored, both because it is unbecoming to be severed from one, with whom you have been united by the dearest tie, and because I should be sorry that this matter should lead to discord between any other persons, whose preferences might naturally draw them to one side or the other.

I have rather been in the habit of wishing, that by the recognition of the right of friends to share each other's friendships, each may find his own best possession doubled. There are scarcely any terms which I shall refuse. Either let him suppress his *Reprehension*, and let me in return allow my *Apologia* to be blotted out. Or, if that wish cannot be carried out, let him change his curses into blessings, or at any rate excuse himself by a letter to me. Or, if even that is asking too much, let him put it in evidence, that, by whatever influence that former storm came over us, we are now on good terms; he shall not find me difficult to appease. There is only one condition which I will not accept, I mean, if he wants me to suppress the *Apologia*, while his crimination remains in the field.

I heard, by a letter from Bade, of your brother's death, which I mourn for two reasons; because he was of kin to you and therefore related to me through the bond of friendship, and because, as you write, he was one of my students.

Busleiden's legacy and the Trilingual College are going on finely. It is a more magnificent affair than I thought, as twenty thousand francs' more are destined for the work. I hope this precedent will meet with many rivals.

I am sending you a letter as troublesome as it is prolix, that you may not be always finding fault with epistles 'scarcely so long as postscripts.'

Farewell, most learned Budé.

Louvain, 22 February, [1518.]*

Recurring to the wish, expressed by Erasmus at the end of this Epistle, that Busleiden's liberality in the foundation of a new College at Louvain for the study of the learned languages might have many rivals, it is of interest to recall the number of Colleges founded in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge during the generation which followed. In this movement the example of Busleiden, and the applause of Erasmus may well have had some influence.

* Louanij viii. Calendas Martias. *Farrago*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Correspondence of the first week of March, 1518. Erasmus at Louvain. Epistle addressed to Erasmus by Richard Sampson; Epistles of Erasmus to numerous correspondents, including Archbishop Warham, Bishop Fisher, the Chancellor of Burgundy, More, Colet, Pace, and Peter Barbier. Epistles 744 to 759.

IN this Chapter it is proposed to include the extant correspondence of Erasmus bearing date in the first week of March, 1518. The earliest letter is one addressed to Erasmus on the second day of the month by Richard Sampson. This is followed by letters of Erasmus to various correspondents, dated on the 5th, and 6th days of the same month.

Epistle 744 is a modest letter addressed to Erasmus by Richard Sampson, who was still resident at Tournay, and is described in the title of the letter as Agent of the Cardinal of York in that district.* It will be remembered that Wolsey had been nominated by Henry VIII. to be Bishop of Tournay, the English being still in possession of that city and cathedral, though not, it may be presumed, of the entire diocese. See vol. ii. p. 209.

EPISTLE 744. Epist. ad diversos, p. 141; Epist. iii. 4;
C. 305 (306).

Richard Sampson to Erasmus.

If you were familiar with English, or if I were master of any other language in which I could converse with you

* *Cardinalis Eboracensis apud Nervios Commissarius.*

by letter, I should not write to you in Latin, aware as I am, that he must be either altogether heedless, or else perfectly accomplished in eloquence, who does not fear to write in that tongue to one that may be matched with the most eloquent authors of antiquity. * * *

Neither should I now have written, unless I had received an impulse from yourself. For by your late letter to our friend John Desmoulins, which he handed to me for my perusal two days ago, in sending me a message of salutation, you thought fit to call me, not only patron, but your special patron.† This phrase has put me to no slight shame, much as I was delighted with the rest of the letter. For who does not know, how high you stand, on account of your supreme learning, in the estimation of Kings and Princes? And of these the best and greatest are those who are warmest in favour of Erasmus. Do not therefore, I beseech you, burden me, beyond other humble individuals, with so proud a title. * * *

Nevertheless, if my small aid can be of use to you, I would have you persuaded, that you will find no one more ready in your service. Indeed I cannot fail to be most friendly to you, when I am not unaware, that those who are most favourably disposed towards me, are also most attached to you. The illustrious Baron, lord Mountjoy, is to me a kind friend, and to you, as you know, he is devoted with all his heart. I say nothing of Tunstall, a man of courteous gravity and rare learning. Neither need I speak of Pace, who being in high favour both with the King's Majesty and with the most Reverend Cardinal, is above all other persons a friend and patron to me. Neither would it be right to pass over

† non modo patronum sed unicum quoque tuum patronum me appellare voluisti. This expression occurs near the conclusion of *Epistles* 736. See p. 246.

More, whose wit and learning are so universally known,
 * * * Such are the friends we have in
 common ; although, if you stood alone, you are yourself
 sufficient to deserve our utmost love. Farewell.

Tournay, 2 March, 1518.†

Epistle 745 is a short letter of advice addressed by Erasmus to Peter Gillis, for whom the writer had a genuine paternal sympathy, and whose feeble condition of health appears to have been accompanied with an irritability, which was not amenable to any remedies that the Pharmacopœia could supply.

EPISTLE 745. Farrago, p. 187 ; Epist. vii. 21, C. 190 (209),
 1670 (262).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I wish I were indeed the healthier part of your soul, as you call me ; but as it is, being far from well myself, I am also out of health in sympathy with you ; and yet, busy with the New Testament, I have no leisure for sickness.

I see no hope for you, unless you, first, obtain control over yourself ; and next, make a little journey either hither or to Ghent. You would find there Clavus, the scolding physician, to whom I will introduce you, if you like ; so that he may, by reproaches if by nothing else, drive you to a cure.

Have nothing to do with any depressing drugs. Take your walk with Nicolas, or with some other faithful and pleasant friend for a companion. Shun anything like a quarrel. The care of his own life is the first business of a

† Tornaci, vi. nonas Martias. *Epist. ad diversos.*

wise man. Farewell, and right well; I shall then fare less uncomfortably myself.

Louvain, 4 March, [1518].*

We have seen, pp. 35, 69, that Marcus Laurinus was Coadjutor of the Dean of the College of St. Donatian at Bruges. In another Epistle he is styled Dean (see p. 70), but this must be regarded as inaccurate; and in the following letter, as in Epistle 638, he is requested to convey to the Dean the salutation of the writer.

EPISTLE 746. Deventer MS.; C. 1671 (264).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

I had made up my mind to come and see you before Lent, but was by some entanglements detained at Antwerp. Then the unfavourable weather has interfered with my plan; but I shall still, I hope, be with you in a few days.

I am sending my servant to England; from whence, after getting some business done there, he is presently to return. I beseech you to advise him, how he may conveniently proceed to Calais or Dunkirk with the goods in his charge; and,—in order to save him from going to suspicious inns,—do either take him in yourself or commend him to my Lewis.† In short, treat the boy as a valued servant of Erasmus; and when he is on his way back, write me a letter by him,—though I think that I may myself be with you before then.

Farewell, and give my salutations to Master Dean, brother Peter and my other friends.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.‡

* Lov. 3 Non. Mart. *Deventer MS.* Lovanij. Tertio nonas Mar. *Farrago.*

† Ludovico meo commenda. See the following Epistle.

‡ Lov. Tertio Non. Mart. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 5. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

The Lewis, mentioned in the preceding letter and addressed in the following short note, was a layman of some importance resident at Bruges,—the Magistor Ludovicus of Epistle 638,—in whose house Erasmus had himself made some stay in the autumn of the preceding year. See p. 69.

EPISTLE 747. Deventer MS.; C. 1692 (308).

Erasmus to Lewis.

If you and your good wife are well, I shall be right glad to hear it. I am sending my servant, the bearer, to England. Please help him to find a carriage and respectable company, and also in any other matter for which he may require your aid, as I am much interested in his safe and speedy return. If there is no room elsewhere, take him into your own house, that he may not be forced to go to an inn, as those places are everywhere under suspicion just now; what you spend upon him, will be spent on me. I shall perhaps soon visit you again myself; meantime farewell, dearest Lewis, with your sweet wife and dear children.

Louvain [5 March], 1518.*

The following letter, the address of which is missing in the printed copy, appears from its contents to have been intended for the hands of Sir Richard Wingfield, 'Deputy (Deputy Controller) of Calais,' who had sent a letter or message to Erasmus, to inquire whether he could recommend him a physician. Sir Richard's wife, who was apparently at Calais with her husband, was the daughter of Sir John Wiltshire, who held the office of 'Controller'† of the same port, and was apparently also there at this time. We learn from the Calendar of Letters and Papers (vol. ii. *num.* 3906), that he had written at the end of January to King Henry VIII. to tell him of the arrival there, in

* Lovanio Anno 1518. C.

† See note, p. 279.

charge of Sir Richard Donne, of the 'goodliest sort of mares from Naples and Italy, which would put the king out of danger of any prince for coursers of Naples,' these animals having been already shipped for England.* We may perhaps infer, that at this time English sportsmen were indebted to Italy for their fleetest race-horses.

EPISTLE 748. Deventer MS. ; C. 1672 (267).

Erasmus [to Sir Richard Wingfield.]

Illustrious Sir, though almost overwhelmed with literary work, I have not forgotten your message about the physician. For I did not venture to recommend any person that occurred to me ; but one that would have suited our requirements, had been almost pitched upon, when the friend, to whom I had entrusted this business, is snatched away with the Prince, or rather, before the Prince's departure to accompany the Chancellor of Burgundy.

I am sending my servant the bearer, upon some special matters of business, to England. I may trust your generosity to help him,—if any help is necessary,—to obtain a safe and convenient passage. You will not grudge to add this favour to the many good turns you have done me.

Farewell, with your sweetest wife, and most charming children. I trust that your father-in-law, the lord Controller,† is in perfect health.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.‡

The name of the person to whom the following letter was written

* Brewer, State Papers, vol. ii. num. 3906.

† D. controlerarum. C. The Controller was apparently so called from his duty of checking the rolls or accounts of the Port. The more correct Latin word is Contrarotulator. See Ducange, *Glossary*.

‡ 3 Nonas Martias. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 5 Martii, Anno 1518. C.

is, as in the case of the last epistle, wanting in the manuscript. It may not improbably have been addressed to Sir John Wiltshire, the Controller of the Port of Calais, and given to the bearer, for greater security in case of the absence of Sir Richard Wingfield. Naef, our Commander (*Naevius Imperator noster*), who appears to have been at some time on friendly terms with Erasmus's correspondent, was, we may assume, the same person as Joannes Nevius or Naevius, whom we have already known as Principal of the Lillian College at Louvain, and to whom Dorpius had by Erasmus's direction in September, 1514, dedicated the little work called *Disticha Moralia Catonis*, then printed from a copy corrected by Erasmus. Epistle 292, vol. ii. pp. 153, 170.

EPISTLE 749. Deventer MS. ; C. 1673 (268).

Erasmus [to Sir John Wiltshire.]

Honoured Sir, if you are well in health, I have every reason to rejoice. I am sending the bearer, a dear servant of mine, for certain necessary occasions, to England, from whence he is soon to return. I do not suppose there will be any need of your assistance ; but if there should be, I beg you to lend it in every way, so that he may make a safe and rapid passage ; and whatever service you render to him, I shall consider to be rendered to myself.

My salutation to the most courteous Gerard,* my old and special friend. Naef, our Emperor,† salutes you in most friendly fashion. Farewell.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.‡

* Saluta humanissimum Gerardum. We are reminded of Garrett, the Cambridge bookseller, also called Gerardus (vol. ii. pp. 26, 332), but to him Erasmus sends a salutation in a letter of the same date addressed to Cambridge. See p. 296. This Gerard may be assumed to be at Calais.

† Naevius Imperator noster.

‡ Lovanio 5. Martis, Anno 1518. C.

In the following Epistle Erasmus frankly submits his plans and his needs to Archbishop Warham, in recognition of the position still held by his correspondent, as his principal and most liberal patron.

EPISTLE 750. Deventer MS. ; C. 1673 (269).

Erasmus to Archbishop Warham.

Most reverend Prelate, sole grace and bulwark of my studies, it is the custom with Poets to divide their plays into five acts, and for me there now remains the fifth act of my drama, which I pray that I may so perform as to merit the applause of good men, but above all the approval of Christ, the one director of our stage. I am proposing to go either to Venice or to Basel,—both long and dangerous journeys, especially in passing through Germany, which, beside the old mischief of robbers, is now subject to a pestilence, which has carried off Lachner, the chief manager of Froben's press,* as well as a multitude of others; whereas, if I go on to Italy, a larger sum of money will be required for the journey on account of the many accidents, which are always unexpectedly arising. I propose to extend my library by the addition of the best books, some fresh ones being printed every day in Italy. I have also to be present at the reprinting of the New Testament; it is a complicated work, and if I am not there myself, nothing will be done as I should wish.

Wherever in the world I may be, I shall be your humble client. And if I return, I propose to remove to England, as a sheltered and distant retreat, where I trust that your goodness will increase our small means, seeing that old age is

* Wolfgang Lachner, at whose house Erasmus had lodged on his first visit to Basel in 1514, was father-in-law of Froben, and had been the chief manager of the Basel Press. See vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.

always coming nearer, and I understand better every day that last Chapter of the book of Ecclesiastes.* If I do not return, it will not be amiss to sacrifice one's life for what, if I am not mistaken, is a pious work.

Grocyn's calamity† is indeed bitter to me. I should wish such intellects as his to have the fortune they deserve, and not to be affected by disease or death; but a Heavenly Power has determined otherwise. We carry this sacred fire,—like the Vestals of old,—in earthen vessels, and somehow or other, those are most subject to the infirmities of mortality, who are most worthy of being immortal.

About this preparation for war against the Turks, I do not care to write. If I am not mistaken, the action is one thing, and the pretext another. I hear from Switzerland, that what is in view is the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples; for Lorenzo, the Pope's nephew, is endeavouring to occupy Campania, having married the King of Navarre's daughter. The Swiss, dull as they may be, are not without some idea of this; but everywhere money has the greatest influence. Good heavens! when, among Christian nations, will these unchristian disturbances come to an end?

I wish I had myself just now such a horse as you once sent by me to the Abbot of St. Bertin. Some people wonder at my undertaking at my age a journey of this sort;

* Erasmus may especially have had in mind, as applicable to himself, the passage near the conclusion of the last chapter of this book, which in the Vulgate stands as follows: *His amplius, fili mi, ne requiras. Faciendi plures libros nullus est finis, frequensque meditatio carnis afflictio est*; and in our English version: "And further by these, my son, be admonished; of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." Erasmus, born, as is supposed, 27 October, 1466 (see vol. i. pp. 13, 14), appears at this time to have been in his fifty-second year.

† *Grocini calamitas*. William Grocyn, the most distinguished English scholar of his day, was Master of Allhallows College near Maidstone, where he died in 1519. He appears to have been at this date already paralysed.

while for my part I am more surprised at the Bishop of Paris, a man of almost seventy years, undertaking still more arduous journeys upon business, which I deem less important ! *

I beg you to give my servant a kind welcome, and send him back soon,—so that my proceedings may not be delayed,—and to be kind as you have always been to your Erasmus. I shall never deem myself unhappy so long as you are safe.

Farewell to your Reverend Lordship, to whom I yield and consecrate my whole self.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.†

The following epistle is without address in the Deventer Manuscript, and the conjectural address (to Thomas More) found in Le Clerc's edition is not a probable one, especially as we have another letter addressed to him of the date to which this letter may most probably be assigned. Dr. Reich has conjectured that it was addressed to Thomas Biddell or Bedill,‡ Archbishop Warham's Secretary (see vol. ii. p. 290) ; and this attribution seems likely enough, the Mæcenæ of the last sentence being probably the Archbishop ; who, if Erasmus was seriously proposing to settle in England, might well, by some ecclesiastical preferment, make a substantial addition to his income.

EPISTLE 751. Deventer MS. ; C. 1695 (313).

Erasmus [to Thomas Bedill.] †

A plague on that fever of yours, which has upset all my

* Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris, like some other contemporary bishops, was much employed in diplomatic business. In 1516 we have seen him as ambassador of Francis I. at the Court of Brussels (see vol. ii. 471, 476, 478), and about this time he appears to have been in England for the purpose of treating for the surrender of Tournay, which, as we have seen, was still in English hands. See Epistle 744, pp. 274, 275 ; Brewer, vol. ii. num. 4135.

† Lovanio 5. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

‡ As to the name of Bedill see a note in p. 353 of this volume.

arrangements. Francis has come back, bringing neither money nor letter. Sixtinus wrote, that the money had been paid upon his (Sixtinus's) warranty; but Francis says that was not done,—Potkin's excuse being, that the bill was not in due form. In future I shall not transact my business by Guelderlanders, nor by one-eyed drunkards,—although it is not I, that have ever put anything into their hands. That was done, against my order, by Peter Gillis, with whom nevertheless I cannot be angry, whether for friendship's sake, or because he is so ill. But once begun, the business must be concluded.

I opine that your *smalacha* has long relieved you of fever.

We are undertaking a long and dangerous journey; but if I judge right, it has a pious object, for which one might be content to die, should the occasion require it. I beg you to be like yourself; write about every matter carefully by this servant of mine; and lend him anything he may require. Farewell.

I want, and must have for my own riding, one easy-going horse not readily tired; in this matter also please give me your counsel.

It is my intention, at the close of this comedy, to retire to England, which I shall do all the more readily, if my Mæcenæ will make some addition to my small fortune. Do endeavour to get that done. Farewell again.

Louvain, [March] 1518.*

The following letter to Bishop Fisher, which has no date of day, may be attributed to the same period as Epistle 750, addressed to the Archbishop.

* Louanio. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio Anno 1518. C.

EPISTLE 752. Deventer MS.; C. 1691 (306).

Erasmus to Bishop Fisher.

Reverend Father, I am reluctantly preparing for a fresh journey, for the purpose of issuing an emended and more complete edition of the New Testament, being apprehensive that this business will be badly managed, unless I am on the spot myself. I beg your Piety, if there is anything to which you think my attention should be directed, to let me know by letter through the bearer, who is sent partly for this purpose, and is to return to me without delay. As far as we could do so, we have made the emendations, which appeared to be required; although we shall never, I suppose, succeed in obtaining the approval of all the Preachers! * If you have done with what we sent by one-eyed Peter, send it back by my servant the bearer; and if you are inclined to write anything to Reuchlin, I will take care that it be delivered to him.

As the journey we are now undertaking is a very long one,—having to go to Venice, or at the least as far as Basel,—we shall want an easy-going horse, that will be capable of hard work; should you have any such to spare, it will be a very great favour if you will send him by the bearer.

This winter has seemed very long to me; so that partly from distaste,† partly by continued study, I have almost knocked myself up. What remains is the last act of our play, and if I am not mistaken, of our life. Henceforth it is my intention to remain in seclusion, and to sing a song

* ut Prædicatoribus omnibus probemur,—all preachers, especially the Friars Preachers.

† partim tædio.

to myself and the Muses ; there is no pleasure in this constant swordplay with such a number of wranglers. I did wish to do my part, such as it might be, in the advancement of studies, and should not grudge the labour, if my wish could be accomplished.

Lefèvre gives no answer at all, not even by a private letter to me ; but I hear that he has taken offence at my *Apologia*, as if forsooth it were due to his authority, that after such an attack I should hold my tongue. And yet I have put a curb upon my righteous grief, and made a large concession to our old friendship, or to Christian modesty. You see how Jerome thunders against Ruffinus, only because he had been cited by him in a figured way* ; and am I not to answer Lefèvre, who has made me 'a subverter of the prophetic intelligence,' 'contumeliously abusing the glory of Christ,' 'a partisan of the blasphemous Jews,' saying 'things most unworthy of Christ and of God,' 'adhering to the Flesh and opposing the Spirit,' writing 'things which are constantly at variance with each other,' 'things that needed more than one Anticyra,' and, while he is defending Christ's dignity, represents me as its adversary,—shall I, let me ask, not answer him at all? However pious, however gentle, however friendly Lefèvre is, these expressions are found in his books, and are acknowledged by him as his own. If they are not found there, I may be accused of infatuation ; if these and more than these are there, it was worth while to weigh, whether I had deserved any of them ; if I had, let them refute what I have advanced ; if not, why should they not rather be angry with Lefèvre for insidiously making so harsh an attack upon a friend, than with me, who am defending myself with a shield only ; not, I repeat, with weapons of offence, as by common right I might surely have done.

* tantum quia figurate fuerat ab illo laudatus.

I have already sent you Theodore's second Book, and I now send the same in print,* so that you may read it more conveniently ; for I know that my Paraphrase has already been published in your country. I wonder that the one-eyed fellow, by whom I sent the book, has not brought a letter from you in return.

Grocyn's affliction does indeed grieve me to the heart, whatever has been his conduct to me.† We might well wish, that faculties like his should not be subject to death or to old age ; but the Powers above have so decreed. We carry this treasure in vessels of clay, or indeed of glass.

About the genealogy of Christ there is, I know, an inextricable question, the solution of which is no part of my plan. Neither am I altogether satisfied with the notes put together by Annius, who strikes me in the first place as a hasty and in the second as a self-satisfied writer, and who in the last place is a Preacher.‡ Therefore if you have hit upon any explanation yourself, you must take the trouble to have a note of it made, so that my servant, who will pay his respects to you if possible, may bring it to me on his return. I have given him as much money for his journey as I thought would be enough ; but if by chance there should be any deficiency, your kindness will not hesitate to supply it.

I have been trying a multitude of baits to catch the King and his reverend Achates, but nothing is attracted to the end of my line ; and if this cast does not succeed, I shall not for the future risk either hook or bait. The game, as I have said before, must be played out ; and when that is done, I have made up my mind to retire from this wicked world. Princes have grown cunning, and the shamelessness

* The Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza. See vol. ii. pp. 291, 546.

† Grocyn had had an attack of paralysis. See p. 282. He appears to have died in the following year. His relations with Erasmus do not appear to have been uniformly cordial. See vol. ii. p. 274.

‡ I presume, a Dominican friar.

of the Roman Curia has reached its climax ; while the condition of the People seems likely before long to be such, that the tyranny of the Turks could be more easily borne. I shall therefore seek refuge entirely with you, as in a locality out of the world, and perhaps the least tainted part of Christendom. And if this does not come to pass, I shall at any rate be content to have spent my life upon what, if I am not mistaken altogether, may claim to be a pious work.

Louvain [5 March] 1518.*

In the first paragraph of Epistle 753 we find Erasmus preparing for the publication of a new collection of his own correspondence. The *Auctarium Selectarum Epistolarum Erasmi ad eruditos et horum ad illum* was published by Froben in August, 1518. The first sentence of the following letter may serve to show, that Erasmus recognized in such publications the expediency of an occasional deviation from the original text.

EPISTLE 753. Deventer MS. ; C. 1671 (265).

Erasmus to More.

First, I beg you to put in charge of the bearer, my John, whatever letters, either of mine, or of yours, you may judge suitable,—after the alteration of some passages,—for publication ; for this is what I am driven to do, whether I like it or not. I have sent this young man in some haste, in order that he may come back as soon as possible.

If you think Urswick is estranged from us, perhaps it will be better not to trouble him ; but if not, give some help about a horse, which will be now very much required,†

* Lovanio, Anno 1518. C.

† Erasmus was looking to Urswick for a horse, when he was in England eighteen months before. Vol. ii. 393, 424.

as I am off either to Basel or to Venice, principally for the publication of the New Testament. This, my More, belongs to my destiny ; I shall play out this Act of my play, and after that, I have nearly made up my mind to sing a song for myself and the Muses,—a resolution almost demanded by my age and health, which is every day advancing to the condition of Mandrabulus.* Such is here the ascendancy of masked scoundrels, while no one makes any profit, but tavern-keepers, advocates, and tax-brokers ! Who could tolerate a place where there are so many to speak ill of you, and none to do you any service ?

The people at Basel excuse themselves for the delay of your Utopia, by reason of the elegant Preface which Budé has been contributing ; they have now received it, and have set to work. Lachner, Froben's father-in-law, is dead. But the Froben press will be as busy as ever with our works. I have not yet seen Linacre's *Therapeutice*, owing to some conspiracy against us at Paris. Please make a friendly arrangement with Lupset about the appendix to my *Copia*, and send it.

The Pope and a few Princes, are playing a fresh comedy, under pretext of a tremendous war against the Turks. Poor Turks,—we Christians must not be too hard upon them ! This is a matter, too, in which wives are concerned. All husbands under the age of fifty, and over twenty-six are to take arms, but meantime the Pope forbids the wives of the absent warriors to indulge in luxury at home. They are to abstain from elegance of attire, not to wear silk or gold, nor any jewels, to make no display, not to drink wine, and to fast every alternate day, that God may speed their husbands while they take part in so sanguinary a war. And if there

* valetudo, in dies ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβούλου προχωροῦσα. C. I can throw no light upon Mandrabulus, who appears to be a type of the last infirmities of age.

are any husbands, who are detained at home by necessary business, their wives are nevertheless to follow the same practices they would have had to observe if their husbands were gone to the war. They may sleep in the same room, but in different beds, and not a kiss is to be exchanged, until this terrible war has been successfully concluded. I know that this will be annoying to many wives, not sufficiently weighing the importance of the matter in question; though I am sure your wife, with the wisdom and piety that she possesses, will readily obey.

I send Pace's little book, which is entitled, "Conclusions upon the Papal pardons, and upon the Counsel concerning the war to be waged against the Turks," because I suspect it has not yet been carried over there.

They write to me from Cologne, that some sort of pamphlet has been printed there, about Julius disputing with St. Peter at the gate of Paradise, the name of the author not being given. These German printing offices will never cease their mad course, until some law is passed to curb their licence, which will be a bad stroke for us, who are doing what we can to benefit the world!*

I cannot express my wonder, that neither Francis nor one-eyed Peter has brought any letter hither. I beg you will allow my boy to sleep for a night or two with yours, so that he may not run the risk of an infected lodging; and that you will lend him anything he may need,—though I have myself furnished him with journey-money. Please obtain permission to export three horses, though perhaps there will not be one to bring!

* See about Erasmus's satire on the deceased Pope, entitled *Julius Cælis Exclusus*, vol. ii. pp. 448, 610. More was in the secret, but Erasmus here affects, either as a jest, or for the sake of those to whom the letter might be shown, that neither he nor his correspondent knew anything about the authorship. Erasmus had probably himself contrived that a copy should be placed in the hands of the Cologne printers, without any further information.

Read Budé's letter, and my letter to him.*

I have seen at last the *Utopia*, as it has been printed at Paris, but printed incorrectly. It is already in the press at Basel; for I had declared a cessation of friendship, if they were not more expeditious in that business than they are in mine. Farewell, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.†

We have seen the opinion formed by Erasmus of the volume lately published by Pace, candidly expressed in a letter to More, Epistle 739. The following letter addressed to the author,—whose assistance he desired to obtain in an application he was making at the English Court,—contains some jesting allusion to the book, but gives no further opinion of it. He refers to the loss of the manuscript of one of his own early works, which had been left in Pace's care,—a loss which might seem to give him some special claim on the services of his correspondent.

EPISTLE 754. Deventer MS. ; C. 1672 (266).

Erasmus to Pace.

You have indeed made fine play in your little book, most learned Pace, and have not earned much more favour from the Theologians than I did myself by my *Moria*. But you have distinguished me very thoroughly by the imputation of poverty,—at a time when to myself I seemed almost a Midas,—though it is rather my Patrons, that are affected by the discredit you suggest,—unless you think I have been an altogether negligent and sorry client. But after translating me in your book, you must give me your help to redeem my character, by spurring up my Mæcenates, among all of whom you have deservedly no little influence. And just now, as I have to make a long and troublesome journey, I do beg you to exert yourself to secure the success of an

* Epistles 710, 743.

† Lovanio 5. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

application which is being made to the King, whom I have so often already endeavoured in vain to capture. Enlist, if necessary, Mountjoy and Tunstall ; Colet is already engaged in the business. What is wanted is ready money.

Your letter to Dorpius I thought it better, for certain reasons, not to deliver ; I am now on good terms enough with him, and my circumstances require that I should have several friends in the University. That one-eyed fellow told me, you had some letter ready ; whatever it is, deliver it to this messenger.

I want a horse,—easy to ride, a good goer and of sufficient height, and have sent my servant in chace of one ; * pray give some help in this matter too.

I wonder what the real fact is about my Commentaries. Your books have been brought over now nearly five years. What are those winds you talk of ? If you know that there is no hope, please do not keep me in suspense. †

If I am not mistaken, I sent you the *Paraphrase* with the *Apologia*. The former is approved by the votes of all the Theologians ; the latter offends some admirers of Lefèvre, ‡ not because they disagree with my case, but because I have dared to reply to so great a person ! If he assails me again in such a style, he shall find what I can do with another weapon ; as yet I have only used a shield.

Bombasius,—so he writes,—feels as if he was living in a barbarous country, now that you have left Constance.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518. ‡

* See Epistle 753 to More, pp. 288, 290.

† This whole passage appears to be a reply to some observation of Pace, probably made in answer to a previous inquiry of Erasmus concerning the loss of the two first parts of his early work entitled *Antibarbari*, which were left in the possession of Pace at Ferrara in December, 1508, and not restored to their author. See vol. i. pp. 100, 452.

‡ male habet Fabristas quosdam.

§ 3 Non. Mart. 1518. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 5. Martii, 1518. C.

The following letter is printed by Le Clerc with an address to Warham, which is manifestly erroneous. Dr. Reich in his table of Epistles has with great probability conjectured this correspondent, who it will be seen was a husband and a father, to be Mountjoy. Both these patrons appear to have contributed, as the correspondent addressed in this letter evidently did, to the writer's ordinary yearly income (see vol. ii. pp. 145, 146); and the title, 'earliest Mæcenas,' found in the concluding words of the letter, is, of all his English patrons, most strictly applicable to Mountjoy. Erasmus may perhaps have thought, that the most delicate way of soliciting an additional present from this nobleman would be to suggest, that he should apply to the King on his behalf.

EPISTLE 755. Deventer MS.; C. 1694 (312).

Erasmus [to Lord Mountjoy].

Most excellent Mæcenas, I am preparing for an expedition either to Basel or to Venice, which will be the last Act of this Play of mine. You know, it is a very long journey;* but in a still greater degree it is a dangerous journey, and that not in one respect only. Germany, beside its usual robberies, is now formidable on account of plague.

I beseech you, my Mæcenas, to endeavour to obtain for me from the King's generosity a present of more than ordinary amount; he shall find, that it is not conferred upon an ungrateful client. But I want this quickly done, so that, when I am ready to start, I may not have to wait for the messenger. I should not venture to trouble you, and should gladly be satisfied with your kindness, if it were not that everything here is transacted with ready money. You will say, why do you not then take flight hither? Well, in the first place I must be present at the printing of this book; and then, I have been compelled by circumstances to prolong my stay at Louvain on account of the Theologians,

* Scio (*read* Scis) iter esse perlongum.

who would have raised a fine tragedy, if I had not been on the spot myself.

When this play is done, it is my intention to remove to England, as the loftiest * retreat in the world, and to indulge my old age in studies of a lighter and more agreeable sort. If you regard me as not altogether a sorry client, I beg you, my Mæcenas, to continue like yourself. Richard Pace in his pamphlet has cast a slur upon me, as a poor and unimportant person, when in my own eyes I seemed almost a Midas ! In this *poor* estimate of me, you are yourself also somewhat concerned. But you may regard this as said in jest, if I am only allowed to escape the risk of its being said in earnest. In this country I am invited on all sides by persons of the greatest importance,—by the Bishops of Utrecht, of Liège, of Mayence,—but I pay no regard to any distant hopes. From Spain, I am told to anticipate something more certain.

You need not have any fear of entrusting the bearer with money. He will under the advice of Sextinus deposit it with the bankers. I am also in want of a useful horse. I know that you are apt to be unlucky in matters of horse-flesh ; † still I will ask you to help me, if you can.

The Chiliads have been completed afresh, and will come out at the next Fair.‡

Farewell, with your sweet wife and dear children. Whether I will or not, one or two books are to be published of my Epistles. If therefore you have any to

* Velut in altissimum mundi secessum. We can hardly translate it, 'deepest.'

† I do not think that we know anything of the circumstances here alluded to.

‡ The edition of the Adages here promised may be identified with that printed by Froben in *inclyta Germaniæ Basilea, An. M.D. xviii.*, of which there are copies in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library. It should be remembered, that the first edition of this important work had been dedicated to Lord Mountjoy. See our vol. i. p. 243.

send, entrust them to the bearer. I shall not publish them without altering such passages as may need to be altered.

Farewell again, my earliest Mæcenas.

Louvain, 1518.*

The student of the Epistles of Erasmus should take note of the practice admitted in the last sentence.

The following letter is addressed to Henry Bullock (Bovillus), a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and one of Erasmus's oldest friends in England. See vol. ii. p. 317. Richard Croke, who had learned Greek from Grocyn, and been Professor of that language at Leipzig (vol. ii. pp. 22, 274), had returned to England in April or May, 1517 (vol. ii. p. 551), and was now at Cambridge,—the first Professor of Greek in that University. Bullock appears to have informed Erasmus, that in the controversy with Lefèvre, the latter was not without his partisans at Cambridge.

EPISTLE 756. Deventer MS. ; C. 1670 (263).

Erasmus to Henry Bullock.

I must first say, how delighted I have been to hear, that you have not been attacked by that wicked plague.

I congratulate Croke, and indeed your University too, which, beside the other honourable studies in which it has long excelled, has now obtained this further distinction.

But what do I hear? Are some persons found, even at Cambridge, to wield the sword on Lefèvre's side? And what reason have they for being angry with me? Is it because I repel with the clearest arguments a charge of blasphemy, which I might share in common with all orthodox writers, but which Lefèvre brings forward as especially appropriate to me? Why are they not rather angry with him, who has struck me first, and struck me in such a way as to leave no room for silence? We may well disregard those ranters, who by mere impulse of mind con-

* Lovanio, Anno 1518. C.

demn or approve opinions, the nature of which they have yet to learn; but in Lefèvre's case I am astonished, first, at his having chosen to write with so much fury against me, and then, at his not sending at least a private letter, to explain or defend his conduct. If Standish had provoked me in this manner, I should have met the animal in a very different fashion. To Lefèvre I have very unwillingly replied, and have conceded much to our old intimacy; but he is not so far my friend, that for his sake I was bound to become an 'enemy to the dignity of Christ,' a 'subverter of the prophetic intelligence,' and an 'ally of the Jews'; especially when he had been the first to violate the rights of friendship.

I have been taking the utmost pains with a fresh revision of the New Testament; and am preparing for a journey either to Basel or to Venice, for its publication. To this destiny I was born, and it is not for me to fight against Providence.

A letter has reached me from Grey, but written, as it seems, at Paris.* Peter Gillis put Croke's letter to me into somebody's hands, but whoever it was, he has not delivered it. Pray salute Croke for me, and also my good friend Grey; you must tell him of my proposed journey; it is not certain yet, to which place I shall go. You will remember me to all friends,—Vaughan, Humphrey, Brian, Watson, and my host Garrett,† whose praise is in the *Apologia*, though without a name.

A professor of Hebrew, the most learned of the age, is now at Louvain; and we have also a man to take the Greek

* Thomas Grey was an old pupil of Erasmus,—an Englishman resident for the most part abroad. See vol. i. p. 115, ii. 312, 556.

† The same old Cambridge friends are mentioned at the end of a letter to Bullock, sent from Rochester in August, 1516, vol. ii. p. 332. Garrett (Gerardus) was the Cambridge bookseller, at whose house Erasmus had lodged in 1511. See before, p. 280, and vol. ii. pp. 26, 332.

professorship. This is the place therefore for those to fly to, who desire to master the three tongues !

Farewell, my matchless friend, patron, and champion.

Louvain, 5 March, 1518.*

The following letter to Colet has no date of day, but appears to have been written about the same time as Epistle 756, and we may assume, that it was sent to England by the same messenger. Neither of these Epistles was published in the writer's lifetime. Cocles was,—it will be remembered,—the nickname given by Erasmus to the one-eyed courier, Peter. See vol. ii. 268, 298, 407, 435.

EPISTLE 757. Deventer MS. ; C. 1690 (305).

Erasmus to Colet.

Best of teachers, I am both surprised and sorry that Cocles has come hither without a letter from you.† He complains to me in your name of my not writing ; but I think I have already sent you my excuse for the scarceness and brevity of my letters, while I have congratulated you upon the leisure which prompts you to demand long and frequent epistles. Believe me, Colet, I am distracted here by so many epistles of bishops, of magnates, of erudites, of friends,—from Italy, Spain, Germany, and France,—that, if I had nothing else to do, I should still be unequal to this one task. I am able to return the kind feeling of all my correspondents, but cannot answer each single one.

About Grocyn's illness I am sincerely sorry, whatever may

* Lovanio 5. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

† Coclitern huc sine tuis venisse litteris. *Cocles*, as used by Erasmus, appears to be another word for *Cyclops*, applied by him, as a nickname, to a man who had lost an eye.

have been his conduct to me. One might well desire, that such intellects should not be subject to old age or death*; but these fatalities do not spare even those that are most worthy of immortality.

I am forced, on account of the printing of the New Testament, and for some other matters, to go either to Basel, or, as I think will be more likely, to Venice, being deterred from Basel, partly by plague, and partly by the death of Lachner, at whose cost the business there was principally conducted. Do you indeed propose, you will say, to undertake such a journey, old as you are, and an invalid, and moreover in this age of ours, than which none for these six hundred years, has been more wicked, or has afforded such a free licence everywhere for plunderers? But what is one to do? To this fatality I was born; and if I die, I shall have spent my life upon a work not, I venture to think, altogether bad. And if, after this last act of the play has been concluded as I desire, I shall chance to return, I am resolved to spend what may remain of life with you. That will be my mode of retiring from a world which is nowhere without stain! At every Prince's Court masked Theologians are dominant. The Roman Curia is incapable of a blush, for what can be more shameless, than this constant supply of Pardons? The pretext is now put forward of a war against the Turks, when the real object is the expulsion of the Spaniards out of Naples, since the Pope's nephew Lorenzo† lays claim to Campania on account of his marriage with the daughter of the King of Navarre. If such disturbances are to con-

* O rem indignam! eiusmodi ingenia neque senium neque mortem sentire. C. Some word or words appear to be lost. The same sentiment is expressed in almost the same words in the contemporary letter to Bishop Fisher. See p. 287.

† Lorenzo de' Medici, grandson of Lorenzo, son of Pietro, and nephew of Giovanni, who became in 1513 Pope Leo X.

tinue, it would have been better to submit to the dominion of the Turks, than of these Christians ! But away with useless complaints !

I have to thank you for kindly beginning to transact my business with the King, and beg you will carry it through ; for an ample provision is now required to meet any of those accidents which commonly befall humanity ; and we are proposing to make some additions to our library.

Where do we stand now ? The King and Cardinal have been often captured, and just as often the net breaks ! Mountjoy is merely kind ; that is something in itself, but nothing to the journey we have in view. He grumbles, I understand, at my not having accepted the terms lately offered by the King. Forty pounds were offered, when he would have had me hope for a hundred. And by way of a novelty, he wanted me to expect what they did not venture to promise, after I had so often found, that even what was,—I will not say, promised, but sworn,—was not forthcoming.

I wonder that neither Francis nor that one-eyed fellow has brought me back hither any letter from you ! But the former is generally occupied with his own business, and as for Peter, he has no time for anything but drinking ; so that, when he had come ashore at Antwerp, there was no meeting him the first day, so fuddled he was with wine. I have now sent my own servant to England, to bring me more certain intelligence about everything. I beg that he may not return to us empty, and that he may return as quickly as possible, as this is the one thing which delays my own journey. Do get Tunstall's help in the matter,—a man who is a true friend to a friend.

Please give directions, after consulting with Sixtinus, that my money may be placed with Maruffo, who must give the agent a bill, by which it may be received somewhere with the least possible loss.

Master Ursewick * a year ago promised me a horse, and with this in prospect, I have presented him with a New Testament. If I knew that the man takes no interest in the matter, I would not trouble him ; but if you think fit, write him a word or two by my servant.

I congratulate you on having Maire at your house, boisterous person as he is.† Pray, take the trouble to convey my good wishes to him ; I love him with all my heart, and am much indebted to him ; he supports me with his prayers, and with his letters both counsels and consoles.

If my servant should be in want of any help, I beg that your kindness may not fail him. Farewell.

Louvain [March], 1518.‡

In the last clause but one, where the printed Latin text reads *Mariam*, I have substituted *Marium*, but with no confidence as to the precise word to be supplied. The whole passage requires an explanation, which does not appear to be now fully at hand. Some English surname, perhaps Mayer or Maire, is probably intended ; and the person so called, having become known to Erasmus as a friend of Colet, may have followed up his acquaintance with a letter of plain-spoken admonition, with which Erasmus was amused.

Epistle 758 is a letter addressed to the Chancellor of Burgundy, who had gone to Spain, taking Paris on his way,—accompanied by Peter Barbier, his Secretary,—a devoted friend of Erasmus. See vol. ii. 563, 589. In the earlier part of this epistle, which is of considerable length, Erasmus refers in an obsequious and complimentary strain to the political labours of the Chancellor Le Sauvage, who appears to have been already 'an elderly man ; and towards the middle of the letter, expresses his pleasure at hearing from Barbier, that his correspondent in his advancing years had retained his old health and

* D. Ursvicus. *Dominus* is a title due to a Doctor.

† Gratulor tibi qui *Mariam* (*qu. Marium*) habebas domi, turbulentum inquam illum hominem. *C.*

‡ Lovanio, Anno 1518. *C.*

vigour. If many such statesmen were in power throughout Europe, the Christian world might hope to enjoy the fruits of Peace, Morality, and Learning. Turning at last to his own labours and prospects, the writer towards the end of the letter, continues as follows.

EPISTLE 758. Deventer MS. ; C. 1673 (270).

Erasmus to John Le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy.†

* * * *

Upon the New Testament again renewed, my toil is now finished. It remains that it be printed with no less care ; and this work, complicated as it is, cannot be satisfactorily done, unless I am there to look after it. If I go to Basel, I shall hope to come back hither by next autumn ; if to Venice, my return will have to be put off till the following spring ; but to whichever place I go, I will soon let you know where I am. Age, daily weighing upon us, has somewhat abated our strength, while we hasten on to the catastrophe of our play ; but I trust we may so say our *Valete et plaudite*, as to gain the approval of Christ, the Director of our stage. We shall certainly endeavour to surpass ourselves in the last Act. I do not beg for your liberality, nor even remind you of my need of it, being sure that your goodness will contrive without my asking, that the structure, which is giving way to age, may be propped up by some accession of fortune. But if there be nothing further added, I confess, that I already owe everything to you. Farewell, Illustrious Sir.

Louvain, 6 March, 1518.‡.

† Erasmus Rot. Cancellario Burgundiæ S. P.

‡ Lov. prid. non. Mart. *Deventer MS.* Lovanio 6. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

With the above Epistle, addressed to his Flemish patron, the Chancellor of Burgundy, which remained in manuscript till the eighteenth century, Erasmus despatched another more familiar letter of the same date, addressed to his friend, the Chancellor's secretary, which he thought fit to publish in the collection entitled *Auctarium Epistolarum*, August, 1518.

EPISTLE 759. *Auctarium*, p. 167 ; Ep. iii. 20 ; C. 306 (307).

Erasmus to Peter Barbier.

I protest, by the Graces,—if the matter is as you write,—the same people who have kept back the books, have also kept back the letters ; for, first, to the *Apologia*, and afterwards to the *Paraphrasis*, I had added a letter of mine.

Canon Canius has, without my asking, drawn and sent me the pension money,—a more trustworthy man than most people are nowadays ! The like has been done by that good Archbishop of Canterbury, without my even knowing it. Would that I had ten such friends ; they would be more welcome to me, than ten Nestors to Homer's Agamemnon.* I have sent my English John off to England, that he may bring me, together with certain other things, a horse that may suit me. He is to return at Easter, and meantime I am girding myself for the journey, and am really afraid that *viaticum* of yours will not find me here. But, if any such thing should occur, I leave here some honest friends, with whom anything that is brought will be safe ; I mean John Borssele, for whom the Latin professorship is intended, John Naef of Hontescote, Peter Gillis,—whose excellent father has lately died, and who is himself suffering from a disease

* Αἱ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
Τιούττοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν. *Iliad* ii. 372.

Oh ! would the Gods in love to Greece decree

But ten such Sages as they grant in thee. Pope's Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 440.

from which he can hardly recover,—and Nicholas of Boisle-duc, the Antwerp schoolmaster.

Cardinal William of Croy has forwarded two letters of yours to me, the second of which was written by Guy Morillon in your name. But what is it you say? Is Guy cold out there—young as he is, and in so warm a country? At any rate his nymph would be with him to prevent his quite perishing with cold. However, we were convinced here, that there were whole regions in that part of the world, where the very ground you trod on was gold, without any Indian ants to guard it, but every one might dig just as much as he liked!

I am glad to hear the Bishop of Chieti* is well, though I suspect he is no warmer friend than other people. As for Briselot, I was almost killed by a most wicked rumour,—that the man had departed to the Elysian Fields,—and I was actually preparing an Elegy to deplore the world's loss of such a luminary, when by your last letter you threw a refreshing shower over us, and brought us to life again!

To speak seriously, it was a real pleasure to me to be informed, that my excellent Mæcenas, John Le Sauvage, is so thoroughly well,—a person indeed worthy to live for ever.

With the theologians here, we are having Halcyon weather,—indeed a wonderful intimacy. For my Jerome they publicly thank me; and with the New Testament no fault is found; indeed the principal people of that profession sincerely approve; and the only barks that we hear come from some sycophants in the far background. I am told that many are deterred by the example of the reception which I have given to Lefèvre. But indeed against him I have not exerted my strength, sparing even an adversary

* John Peter Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, afterwards Pope Paul IV. See

as far as the case allowed ; I wonder how it is, that he does not write,—at any rate a private letter,—either to excuse, or to defend himself. I am congratulated on all sides by Germans, Italians and English on my triumph over a Gaul ! But this does not prevent my hating my own success, which is not much to boast of, the victory being so easy, and so far invidious, as my triumph has been gained over a friend, whose welfare I have at heart, though not so far as to consent for his sake to be judged a blasphemer against Christ. I pray therefore, that God Almighty will grant to those who wish me well, a happier reason for their congratulations.

The *Apologia* has been four times printed ; but let Lefèvre withdraw his attack, and I will, as much as I can, suppress my Defence. Let him lay aside his arrows, and I will put down my shield. Let him remove the poison, and I will cease to apply the antidote. If any one else had attacked me in such terms, his reception would have been far different. * * * * I desire nothing but peace, especially with him, not because I am afraid of him, but because I love him. But if he repeats his attack, he will have himself to blame, if he is rudely received.

* * * *

I am forced by my work on the New Testament to go either to Venice or to Basel,—I have not yet determined which. From Germany I am frightened away by three annoyances, the stoves, the highwaymen, and the plague,—the last having among others, carried off Lachner, the chief manager of Froben's press,—from Italy by the long journey and the approach of summer. But whichever place I go to, I will let you know.

I consider myself as writing to the Chancellor,† when I

† John Le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy, to whom Barbier was Secretary.

write to you, being afraid of imposing a letter upon one who is immersed in such a multitude of affairs. I am myself quite overwhelmed with love-letters. The Archbishop of Mayence has written one, the Bishop of Utrecht more than one, the Bishop of Liège one, and he of Bayeux another ; and all invite me to their embraces ! The King of England invites me, and his Achates, the Cardinal of York. The King of France invites me too. So many are my lovers, that it is not easy even to answer all their letters ; I have written nevertheless to the Chancellor Le Sauvage, being bidden to do so by you, whose command I thought it was hardly safe to disobey, violent person as you are !

Instead of our old two languages here, we are all being made trilingual. Matthew, a person eminently skilled in the tongue to which he was born, is our public professor of Hebrew,—as if *ebriety* had not been common enough already,*—and Dorpius is leader of a Hebrew faction. You will soon see a New Age arise, in which they will kiss the relics of that poor Erasmus, whom, not long before, they stoned ! It must however be admitted, that our Paraphrase is applauded by the general vote ; and it is some satisfaction to have produced even a single book which pleases such surly critics. I only wish I had confined myself to like fields, in which much more credit was to be had with much less labour ; but we are driven, my Barbier, by the Fates, and to the Fates we must yield.

Please take the trouble to commend me to our distinguished friend Haloin ; and greet in my name Marlianus,†

* publice profitetur Hebraice, quasi parum hic fuerit ebriorum. We should scarcely have expected to find Erasmus condescending to pun on the words *Ebrius* and *Hebræus*.

† Aloisius Marlianus, Bishop of Tuy in Galicia, and a Councillor of King Charles, is mentioned as a correspondent of Erasmus in Epistle 525, vol. ii. p. 514.

and Josse most learned in the law,* and also your crony,† Guy Morillon.

Farewell, my Barbier, and take the utmost care of your nealth; as this year has taken from us so many persons distinguished like you. Among these there has been Marcus Musurus at Rome, already an Archbishop designate, and before him Palæotus Camillus; at Paris, Faustus, a man worthy of immortality‡; and in England, Andrew Ammonius of Lucca, a person upon whom all excellent endowments were heaped! Those who consult the stars affirm, that in the four coming years there will be such a plague, that none but those who are eminently learned and honest will survive! If this be true, I venture to add my own prediction, that corn will be marvellously cheap; and I advise you to be very careful, not to be in the number of the commonplace persons.

I rejoice to hear that John Carondelet, Dean of Besançon, has been advanced to the dignity of Bishop of Palermo, and I am especially pleased, as he has always given his valuable support to honourable studies, and on this account has been to me, among others, a special friend and patron. I do not doubt, that his own worth will soon raise him to a still higher position. Pray do your best to bring it to pass, that like congratulations may be addressed to you.

It is a long business to write to all one's friends; you must do for me what it would cost me many letters to do. Farewell again.

Louvain, 6 March, 1518.§

* "The most learned doctor Josse" has been mentioned in another letter of Erasmus to Barbier, Epistle 669, p. 119. It is probably the same Jodocus, of whom Erasmus says in a later letter, that he possessed a mass of law, but common sense, *judicium naturale*, was missing. C. 1213A.

† Congerronem tuum. See more about Morillon, vol. ii. p. 563.

‡ Faustus Andrelinus, Poet and Professor of Rhetoric at Paris, was an intimate friend of Erasmus in 1499. See vol. i. pp. 191, 192, 203.

§ Lovanij, pridie Nonas Martias. M. D. XVIII.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Continued Residence of Erasmus at Louvain. Epistles addressed by Erasmus to several correspondents at Basel during the last three weeks of the month of March and the first half of April, 1518. Epistles addressed to Erasmus by Bérault, Pirckheimer and Budé during the same period. Epistles 760 to 770.

THE last chapter being principally made up of Epistles addressed by Erasmus in the first week of March, 1518, to correspondents residing in the Low Countries or in England, the present chapter contains at its commencement some letters written in the second week of the same month to his Basel correspondents. The first letter answering this description is addressed to Froben, whom the writer hails as his gossip, Froben's son, Erasmus, being the godson of Erasmus. See vol. i. p. 39; ii. 280. This correspondent was still mourning the loss of his father-in-law, Wolfgang Lachner, who appears to have died in the month of January, 1518. The apparent fatalism of the first sentence may attract notice, but it may be observed that the words are used, not of a future, but of a past event.

EPISTLE 760. Deventer MS.; C. 1674 (271).

*Erasmus to his dearest gossip Froben.**

I do beseech you again and again, my Froben, to show your wisdom in bearing with a firm and unbroken spirit what is the common lot of all men, remembering especially that our grief has no power to influence the Fates. For myself, I do not see how to comfort you; but I promise that, what-

* Erasmus Frobenio compatri suo charissimo s. d. C.

ever a sincere friend can do for a friend, I will do more readily for you than I have ever done for anyone before.

I should have been more moderate in the price asked for the Copy, if I had not supposed that the money was furnished by Lachner, and did not affect you. I had already received, some time ago, fourteen gold florins for what I had spent upon James, and that by Lachner's order. And I have more lately received by his order thirty gold florins. Whatever books I have had from him I have paid for out of my own purse.

I shall make a visit to you this summer, provided that the robberies do not hinder me. I have sent the *Enchiridion*; if not of use to you, send it to Schürer who is a good friend; but if convenient, use it yourself. Thierry has lately printed the second book of Theodore;* I did not think it could have been given to you, as in so many letters that you have written to me there was no mention of it.

Farewell, dearest Froben, and be convinced of this, that Erasmus, as long he lives, will be your true gossip.

Louvain, 12 March, 1518.†

Having written to Froben on the 12th of March, Erasmus prepared on the following day some other letters to be sent by the same messenger. The first of these is addressed to Wolfgang Capito, who was now Rector of the University of Basel. It may be remembered, that Capito had learned Hebrew from Matthew.

EPISTLE 761. Deventer MS. ; C. 1675 (272).

Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito.

Your sincere and genuine affection for Erasmus shows

* The Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza. See vol. ii. p. 291.

† Lovanio 12. Martis, Anno 1518. C.

itself in more than one direction, whether by your declining to communicate to Baer my letter, or by your being so concerned about the *Apologia*.

I have something to tell you about Matthew, that will amuse you. He had come to call upon us, and I being afraid,—busy as I then was,—of being disturbed, sent down by a servant your letter addressed to him. The servant returns from the lobby, bringing me word that he wishes to see me for a few moments ;* I assent ; he comes up and holds out the letter, begging me to read it to him, as he had not his spectacles. I read half a sentence, and then turned to him and observed that the exordium was not very civil, and that he had better continue the reading by himself. 'No,' said he, 'I want you to know what there is there.' I go on as he bids me, but when what followed became harder and harder, I advised him to read it himself, when he was alone. He begs me to go on, and I read it through, laughing from time to time. Thereupon he begins a long defence of himself, exclaiming that it was all utterly false, and indeed that you were indebted to him. I then, being very much occupied, entreated him to put off the story to another time. He says he has answered you, and threatens that he will find fault with every thing you have taught in your Grammar ! I think the man will leave this neighbourhood in his usual way ; he left Middelburg in a great bustle on account of his debts. Farewell.

I should wish, that you were more inclined to Greek than to those Hebrew studies of yours, though I find no fault with them. But I see that nation filled with the coldest fables and producing nothing but smoke, *Talmud*, *Cabala*, *Tetragrammaton*, *Portæ Lucis*,—empty names ! I had rather see Christ infected by Scotus, than by that rubbish.

* nuntians illum tribus dumtaxat velle convenire. The Latin clause wants some word or words.

Italy has a multitude of Jews ;* while Spain has scarcely any Christians ! And I fear, that this may lead to the revival of that plague which was put down in former days. It were well, if the Christian Church did not attribute so much to the Old Testament, which, given as it was for a time, consists of shadows, and is nevertheless almost preferred to the Christian writings, while we somehow or other are turning our steps away from Christ, who was formerly our one sufficient guide. Farewell.

Louvain, 13 March, 1518.†

Ioannes Œcolampadius or Johann Hausshein, a friend of Melancthon, being both a Greek and a Hebrew scholar, had been a valued assistant of Erasmus in editing the Greek Testament. See vol. ii. pp. 217, 534. He appears to have recently written to Erasmus from Frankfurt.

EPISTLE 762. Deventer MS. ; C. 1675 (273).

Erasmus to Œcolampadius.

How could I guess, dearest Œcolampadius, that a man like you, devoted to things of Heaven, would be found in that sordid sink of humanity at Frankfurt ? When you accept the name of Theseus, you must really adopt the character. The Hebrew passages, which I have cited in reliance upon you, are assailed by many, and especially the matter which was collected out of Annius and brought in by us in Luke. I shall be at Basel, to edit the Greek Testament again, before May, if I am not prevented by

* By Jews we may perhaps understand,—not Jews by race, but by their manner of thinking.

† Lovanio 13. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

the highway robberies that are so common in Germany. I only wish you might be there too, assisting with all your heart in this business; for as to Gerbel,* I cannot help being out of patience with him, when it comes to my mind how conceitedly and how contemptuously he has behaved in that matter.

Matthew, Wolfgang Capito's instructor, is here, engaged, with a regular public salary, as professor of Hebrew,—so that matter is going on all right.†

Farewell, my Œcolampadius, and return the affection of your most loving Erasmus.

Louvain, 13 March, 1518. ‡

In October, 1517, Richard Pace had published his little book, entitled, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (see before p. 249), a volume from the press of Froben, the elegant appearance of which failed to conciliate Erasmus, who had sent through More, 'in a friendly way,' an admonitory message to the author (see Epistle 739), and since that time had written, without any compliments upon his work, to Pace himself. (Epistle 754.) In the following letter to Beatus Rhénanus he expresses plainly his opinion of the book, while he forwards the last news he has received concerning the author.

EPISTLE 763. Deventer MS. ; C. 1675 (274).

Erasmus to Beatus Rhénanus.

As to Pace's very dull little volume, it is not easy, my Beatus, to say how ashamed and sorry I am about it. It is altogether an occasion for the proverb, 'the Treasure is

* Dr. Nicolas Gerbel was a scholar, who assisted in the printing office of Matthias Schürer of Strasburg. See vol. ii. pp. 211, 216, 238.

† See as to the Hebrew professor at Louvain, pp. 98, 165, 296, 305.

‡ Lovanio 13. Martii, Anno 1518. C.

nothing but coal';* and I am sure all his learned friends will regret it as sincerely as I do. Meantime, however, he is himself happy enough,—rich, and in the highest favour with King and Cardinal. Nevertheless I have written to beg More to warn him in a friendly way, not to go on making a fool of himself in that fashion.

I am sorry for Froben, whom I never intend to fail as long as I live; and I commend him in turn to you, as our common father, to whom you especially may be a great protection, seeing that my own age and health have long demanded release from this kind of work. To you and your contemporaries, a younger and more fortunate generation, I pass on the lamp.

Tell Bruno to banish from his mind every scruple about republishing the Jerome; believe me, what he has feared is a dream; but about this I have written to him too.†

I shall be with you this summer, to re-edit the Greek Testament, if only we are allowed with any safety to travel into Germany, the condition of which is by those robberies made worse than Hell itself, neither the entrance nor the exit being easy. Good Heavens, what dramas are these which Princes are enacting! The sense of shame has no longer any effect on the doings of mankind; and Tyranny has reached its climax, Pontiff and Kings treating the people, not as men, but as cattle to be bought and sold!

Lefèvre does not write a line, and I hear various reports of

* Hoc est prorsus τὸ τῆς πατριπίας, ἄνθρακες θησαυρός [read ὁ θησαυρός.] *C.* This saying occurs several times in Lucian, from whom Erasmus in his *Adagia*, (under the Proverb, Thesaurus carbones erunt, *Adagia* Chil. X. Cent. ix. Prov. 30) quotes four passages,—the last from the *Navigium* or *Vota*, καὶ ἄνθραξες σοι ὁ θησαυρός ἔσται, your treasure will be nothing but coals. Neither the ancients nor the contemporaries of Erasmus valued mineral coal, as we have learned to do.

† The letter to Bruno Amerbach does not appear to have been preserved; and what his fear was, is not apparent. He may merely have doubted, whether it was safe to go to the expense of a new edition of Jerome.

him. Some say he is planning a Defence, others say no: The person, by whom I had sent him the *Apologia* with a letter of my own, wrote in the following terms to a friend of his, who handed me the letter to read: "I delivered the *Apologia* to Lefèvre, with the letter. He in my presence* denounced plainly enough the levity of Erasmus, but he does not look forward to any recrimination." I cannot express my wonder at what has happened to the man, unless under that appearance of moderation and gentleness some poison is concealed. Farewell.

Louvain, 13 March, 1518.†

The relations of Erasmus with Henricus Afinius, a physician residing at Antwerp, who had been introduced to Erasmus in the previous year by Peter Gillis, were not those of constant friendship. See Epistles 635, 678, 679, 722. In the last of these letters Erasmus had with some lack of delicacy demanded from his correspondent an expected present of plate. We may perhaps conclude from the following letter, prefixed to a Declamation in Praise of Medicine, which, having been written by Erasmus many years before, was printed by Froben in 1518, that the expected present of plate had meantime arrived. The Declamation with the Epistle prefixed may be found by the reader in the first volume of Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus's works, p. 535.

EPISTLE 764. *In Laudem Medicinæ Declamatio*; C. i. 535.

Erasmus to Afinius.

In a recent survey of my library, most learned Afinius, I found in my hands a Speech in praise of the Art of Medicine, composed by me some time ago, when there

* *apud meam personam*. The sentence which I have translated between inverted commas is printed in italic type by Le Clerc, and appears to be taken, word for word, from the letter of a less accomplished writer.

† Lovanio 13. Martii, Anno 1515. C.

was no subject which I did not attempt. It occurred to me at once, to present an Oration, in itself far from excellent, to an excellent physician, so that by the mere attraction of your name it might be commended to a wider circle of students. Meantime it will stand as some sort of evidence of my regard for you, until another occasion may arise, more worthy of our friendship. Farewell.

Louvain, 13 March, 1518.*

The following epistle is addressed to Paulus Bombasius, with whom Erasmus had formed an intimate acquaintance during his stay at Bologna in the winter of 1506-7 (vol. i. p. 427). At the present time Bombasius appears to have been employed by the Papal Court upon a legation in Switzerland, where he had become acquainted with Richard Pace, of whom he appears to have made some friendly mention in a late letter to Erasmus. It appears from the Preface to Pace's book (see p. 311) that Bombasius had encouraged the author to publish it.

EPISTLE 765. Deventer MS. ; C. 1676 (275).

Erasmus to Bombasius.

On receipt of your letter, most learned Bombasius, I felt quite revived as soon as I recognised that hand which is so dear to me. But what is this I read? Legate as you are, you think yourself relegated.† But you must act the character of Ulysses, that man of many resources, who even among the Phæacians and Cyclopes, attempered his part so fairly; only you must not fall in with a Calypso or a Circe, nor have to do with an Irus in any quarter! Trebatius‡ in old days

* Lovanii tertio Idus Mart. Anno MDCXVIII. C.

† Pro legato videris tibi relegatus. Relegation was a temporary banishment from Rome, a punishment well known to the Roman Law.

‡ Erasmus alludes to a letter of Cicero to Trebatius. Quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te præbuiſti, plane non reprehendo. Nunc vero in hibernis intectus mihi videris. *Ciceronis Epist.* lib. vii. Epist. 15.

had to pass a chilly time among the Britons; but you are much more fortunate, having been allowed to perspire the whole winter among those Swiss stoves. And lastly I would have you remember, that legations such as yours, which to you seem so deplorable, give birth to Bishops and to Cardinals. Why should I not see in perspective my Bombasius distinguished by mitre and crozier, or Very Reverend with a purple hat? I have often deplored,—but to no purpose,—the way in which I came away myself from Rome; and my only consolation is, that we are victims of Fate. If I thought of re-seeking now what I then left, my baldness would shame me, as my declining years dissuade.

There is nothing I find more trying than to have to put up with certain Theological sycophants, who assume the privilege of condemning what they have never read; while these are indeed the very persons for whose benefit my exertions have been most strained, if they had only chosen to learn instead of finding fault. It was by them, I think, that Lefèvre was instigated,—to his own grievous cost, if his good name is dear to him!

I was aware that Richard Pace was a person of a character pure as snow,—honest, free, and as attached a friend as you could anywhere find, a man of many tongues and of much learning; nevertheless I should have wished for his own sake that his little book about the Utility of Study had not been published. I am sure that the learned men, of whom Britain has not a few, have looked for a far different specimen of his learning! If he has been writing in earnest, what is there earnest in it? if in jest, what is there amusing? There is nothing in fine, either consistent or coherent, but *velut ægri somnia*, etc.* And then again what was the use of dragging in Erasmus in so many places, now as a hungry author, now as an unpopular Theologian? As a matter of

* *velut ægri somnia vanæ Finguntur species.* Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, 8.

fact, I am on the best of terms with the principal Divines; and this hungry author is the possessor of a yearly income of more than three hundred ducats, beside what is added by the liberality of patrons and by his own work; and may have more if it pleases him,—indeed might have any amount, if he chose even in a small degree to dip his hand into the business of Princes. Does the author reckon, that whatever idea comes into his head, is straightway to be daubed upon his paper, without any thought in what fashion a friend's name may appear in his books? Certainly, before he had obtained the rank he now holds, I treated him in my *Chiliads*† with considerably more respect!

Perhaps I shall be with you this next Spring, unless you first make another visit to Rome; and it is possible that I may be with you there. Farewell, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, 14 March, 1518.*

Nicolas Bérauld, the writer of the following letter, is already known to us as a correspondent of Erasmus, having added a few lines, by way of postscript, to a letter addressed to him by Deloin, and dated in November, 1516. See vol. ii. pp. 441, 489. It appears, further, by the opening words of the following epistle, that he had already written other letters to Erasmus, which have not been preserved.

EPISTLE 766. Farrago, 365; Ep. xi. 13; C. 307 (308).

Nicolas Bérauld to Erasmus.

I have grieved much and often, most learned Erasmus, that two letters of mine, written to you in the last two years,

* Lovanio 14. Martii. C.

† The dedication to Lord Mountjoy, prefixed to the first enlarged edition of the *Chiliads* of Adages, contains a complimentary passage relating to the character and accomplishments of Pace. *Erasmi Opera*, vol. ii. in Præf.

have been lost, for lost I count them to be, having received no answer to them from you. But this I am more disposed to attribute to the carelessness of Francis the Bald, who undertook to deliver them to you at Basel, than to any fraud on his part, having seen enough of the man, even in the three days he was with me, to be quite satisfied of his honesty. Meanwhile I thought it improper to trouble you with another letter, occupied as you were with more important studies,—having devoted your time for several years to the restoration of the science of Theology, and being now engaged, with all your heart, as the saying is, in the illustration of the Pauline Epistles. For I do not doubt, you have been preparing a second edition of the New Instrument, as they call it ; especially as I have it on the authority of our Nesen, who more than once, when he was with me at Paris, reported to Lewis Berquin, and also to me, that he had himself seen your lucid notes upon Paul's Epistles to the Romans. And I trust that I shall soon see all this work printed in the fairest type, I mean in that of Froben, than which I do not think anything can be found more neat or more elegant. This is so confidently expected by all the more learned persons who are here,—by Budé, by Ruelle, by Ruzé, by Deloin, and by that Mæcenas of our age, the Bishop of Paris himself, that I suppose no other work of any author was ever so earnestly looked for. I see myself, that what with earnest prayer I have formerly desired, is now within view ; I mean that our Theologians, hitherto overmuch devoted to sophistical trifles and worthless subtleties, will leave the factions of Scotists and Occamists,—aye and of Thomists too,—and turn their attention to that ancient and genuine Theology, if you persevere in vindicating for Sacred and Heavenly Letters the dignity which is their due. This I judge to have been already so successfully done by you, that I do not see which of the ancient Theologians can rightly claim to be placed before you,

fact, I am on the best of terms with the principal Divines; and this hungry author is the possessor of a yearly income of more than three hundred ducats, beside what is added by the liberality of patrons and by his own work; and may have more if it pleases him,—indeed might have any amount, if he chose even in a small degree to dip his hand into the business of Princes. Does the author reckon, that whatever idea comes into his head, is straightway to be daubed upon his paper, without any thought in what fashion a friend's name may appear in his books? Certainly, before he had obtained the rank he now holds, I treated him in my *Chiliads*† with considerably more respect!

Perhaps I shall be with you this next Spring, unless you first make another visit to Rome; and it is possible that I may be with you there. Farewell, sincerest of friends.

Louvain, 14 March, 1518.*

Nicolas Béroul, the writer of the following letter, is already known to us as a correspondent of Erasmus, having added a few lines, by way of postscript, to a letter addressed to him by Deloin, and dated in November, 1516. See vol. ii. pp. 441, 489. It appears, further, by the opening words of the following epistle, that he had already written other letters to Erasmus, which have not been preserved.

EPISTLE 766. Farrago, 365; Ep. xi. 13; C. 307 (308).

Nicolas Béroul to Erasmus.

I have grieved much and often, most learned Erasmus, that two letters of mine, written to you in the last two years,

* Lovanio 14. Martii. C.

† The dedication to Lord Mountjoy, prefixed to the first enlarged edition of the *Chiliads* of Adages, contains a complimentary passage relating to the character and accomplishments of Pace. *Erasmi Opera*, vol. ii. in Præf.

have been lost, for lost I count them to be, having received no answer to them from you. But this I am more disposed to attribute to the carelessness of Francis the Bald, who undertook to deliver them to you at Basel, than to any fraud on his part, having seen enough of the man, even in the three days he was with me, to be quite satisfied of his honesty. Meanwhile I thought it improper to trouble you with another letter, occupied as you were with more important studies,—having devoted your time for several years to the restoration of the science of Theology, and being now engaged, with all your heart, as the saying is, in the illustration of the Pauline Epistles. For I do not doubt, you have been preparing a second edition of the New Instrument, as they call it ; especially as I have it on the authority of our Nesen, who more than once, when he was with me at Paris, reported to Lewis Berquin, and also to me, that he had himself seen your lucid notes upon Paul's Epistles to the Romans. And I trust that I shall soon see all this work printed in the fairest type, I mean in that of Froben, than which I do not think anything can be found more neat or more elegant. This is so confidently expected by all the more learned persons who are here,—by Budé, by Ruelle, by Ruzé, by Deloin, and by that Mæcenas of our age, the Bishop of Paris himself, that I suppose no other work of any author was ever so earnestly looked for. I see myself, that what with earnest prayer I have formerly desired, is now within view ; I mean that our Theologians, hitherto overmuch devoted to sophistical trifles and worthless subtleties, will leave the factions of Scotists and Occamists,—aye and of Thomists too,—and turn their attention to that ancient and genuine Theology, if you persevere in vindicating for Sacred and Heavenly Letters the dignity which is their due. This I judge to have been already so successfully done by you, that I do not see which of the ancient Theologians can rightly claim to be placed before you,

whether we choose to regard and weigh the skill in languages, the various and extensive learning, or lastly the pains and unwearied diligence devoted to the subject. A bold assertion, someone will say ; bold I admit, but nothing, I venture to think, can be more true.

I am aware that you have some partisans who are constantly singing hymns and songs of victory, and who attribute such merit to you as, even if you admit, you do not claim. I certainly, myself, do not write anything to gratify you, but I write just what I think. I do not know how to flatter anyone, nor if I did know, would I do it, especially to so modest a person as Erasmus. How indeed can I think otherwise of you, when I hear the same sentiment expressed everywhere by all the most learned persons I meet. Proceed therefore in the pious pursuit of Christian piety and Evangelical learning, in which you have hitherto striven with such success, that nothing now remains for you to do but to surpass yourself. Farewell.

Paris, 16 March, 1518.*

Towards the end of March, 1518, Pirckheimer addressed a friendly letter to Erasmus, inviting him, on his next journey to Basel, to visit Nuremberg on his way. The pride, with which a citizen of Nuremberg of the time of Pirckheimer and Dürer regarded his native city, will be intelligible to every one who has visited it, even in the nineteenth or twentieth century.

EPISTLE 767. Deventer MS. ; C. 1594 (118).

Wilibald Pirckheimer to Erasmus.

Although there is no immediate occasion, most learned Erasmus, for my addressing a letter to you, still, in order

* Luteciae. decimoseptimo Calend. Apriles. *Farrago.*

that the friendship we have begun may not be entirely dropped, I have made up my mind to write these few lines, to let you know that the remembrance of you has not in the slightest degree faded from my mind. I hear, that you have completed some new work, and will soon be on your way to Basel to put it in the printer's hands. I have asked you long ago, if you could conveniently do so, to come also to us. I now repeat my message, and beg, if you have ever so little time to spare, that you will be pleased to pay a visit to your friends in this place, of whom it is well known that the number is considerable, and to let them see you in person.* I am quite sure you will not regret doing so ; for beside giving so much pleasure to your friends, you will see many things which you will be glad to have seen. In the first place you will see such a Commonwealth, as I may say without offence to others, you have not yet beheld in Germany. Although that country has in past years by reason of the frequency of wars been infested with robbers, every thing is now so safe and quiet, that there is no cause for any alarm about your safety. Do therefore let us have our way in this matter ; nothing could possibly give us greater pleasure.

Farewell, most excellent Erasmus ; your prolonged safety and happiness are not of more importance to yourself than they are to all the learned. Pray be so good as to write some time in return, and let us know upon what work you are engaged. Farewell again.

Nuremberg, 20 March [1518].†

* A few words of this sentence are omitted in Le Clerc's volume between the end of one page and the beginning of the next, and are supplied by conjecture in the translation. The passage, when complete, may probably stand nearly as follows, *ut amicos tuos, quorum numerum ingen[tem tibi devotorum esse nemini non est notum, invisere te] que illis coram spectandum exhibere velis* ; but the words and letters within the brackets are missing.

† Nuremberga, 20 Martis, Anno 1517. C.

The following Epistle shows the active interest, which Erasmus was still taking in the institution of the professorships founded in the University of Louvain under the will of Jerome Busleiden. Matthew, the professor, chosen under his advice to fill the Hebrew Chair (see pp. 296, 305, 306), had already begun his professorial work.

EPISTLE 768. Deventer MS.; C. 1677 (276).

Erasmus to the Dean of Mechlin.

Honoured Master Dean, Matthew is both diligent and successful in playing his part; and his audience, considering the novelty of the thing, is numerous enough, and of a high order, including several of our Masters. I hope we shall find some one, who may be able to sustain the Greek part with like success. For as to Borssele, for whom you have destined the Latin chair,—a better choice could not be desired; indeed it would have been difficult, whichever way one looked, to find a single person endowed with so many excellent qualities,—a character of such integrity and purity, erudition which has more in store than it promises in show, a mind capable of learning whatever may be required, a marvellously tenacious memory, and withal a habit of life, that can offend no one. But I might be doing something better, than giving you a picture of a man who is more fully known to you than to myself. I only beg, that it may not prejudice him, that he is, and has long been, a known and devoted client of the family of Busleiden. You are aware that his slender means are not sufficient to maintain him at Louvain, where he has been residing for several months, not without cost; so that he is forced to think of some way of increasing his means. We are all interested in such a person being retained in this place, so that his light may shine in a wide circle; and I am myself also privately concerned, as during my absence, which must last for six or eight months, I had made up my mind to put him in charge

of my property, that is, of my books,—not only to keep but to enjoy, as he is one of those with whom I hold everything in common.* And retained he will be, if the same thing be done for him as is done in the case of the Hebrew Professor, that is, if a salary be assigned him worthy of his merits. And in your foresight you will, no doubt, bear in mind, that this professorship will involve much more work than the Hebrew. The latter teacher is supplying the rudiments to the rude, while the former has to satisfy as many erudites. As to a house, what is to be done, will be done in due time, but I think the professorships should be instituted at once, for fear of the business being chilled by delay, or of some evil genius interfering to disturb a project of general utility. Believe me, there will always be Theological Colleges enough, and disputants everywhere more than enough, but if this noble scheme does not take effect according to Busleiden's intention, I do not see by whom it can be carried out. It is the one thing, which will recall our studies from turbid pools to the limpid springs of Holy Scripture. You will let Borssele know, what you think about sending for a Greek; and he will in turn report my opinion to you.

I am not disposed to meddle in other people's business,—especially where, as in this case, I have nothing to do either with the sowing or the harvest. Nevertheless I have some regard to public utility, and to the memory of that excellent man, Jerome Busleiden, which I shall not permit to perish, if anything that I may write can prevent it.† I therefore send

* *Amicorum communia omnia.* Erasmi *Adagia*, Chilias I. Centuria i. Proverbium 1.

† The Colloquy of Erasmus, entitled *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii*, contains an eulogy of Francis Busleiden, Archbishop of Besançon, and his two brothers, Giles and Jerome,—and of the College founded by the last at Louvain for instruction in the three learned languages. Erasmi *Opera*, iv. 747. Both brothers are also honourably mentioned in the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*. ib. v. 77, 78.

the Epitaphs ; they are not such as he deserved, but such as we can supply after having been engaged for so many years in a kind of study, which is as far removed as can be from eloquence, and especially from poetry. If you judge that any alteration should be made, please let Borssele know, and he will send on your opinion to me.

Farewell, most distinguished Sir, and remain safe in the keeping of Christ.

Louvain, 26 March, 1518.*

The following lengthy epistle to Marcus Laurinus,—of whom we have already seen something in Epistles 692 and 730, pp. 159, 229,—contains a defence or justification of the position of Erasmus among the theologians of his time, especially with reference to his labours upon the New Testament.

EPISTLE 769. *Auctarium*, p. 172 ; Epist. iii. 21 ; C. 368 (356).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.†

I have received your letter, which is love itself ; for what other sound does it utter, what other breath does it breathe ? I have been no less longing for your company than you for mine, and I do hope that we shall now have that indulgence. As for the faultfinding of those detractors, who after trying their teeth upon every possible object, are now jeering at my 'inconstancy,' I did laugh, I confess,—being already accustomed to that kind of babble,—but my laughter was partly Sardonic, for while to myself against calumnies of that sort a good conscience might well suffice, still who

* Lovanio 26. Martij, Anno 1518. This date is followed in C. by the words, *Erasmus tibi deditissimus*, which we may presume represents the signature of the writer in the draft or copy preserved in the Deventer Manuscript.

† Erasmus Roterod. Marco suo. *Deventer MS.* Marco Laurino. C.

would not feel some annoyance at the obstinate and perverse ingratitude of men? No persons are more in need of my labours than those who thus bark against my studies and their own accommodation; and none bark more fiercely or savagely than those who have never seen even the cover of my book. Do, my dear Mark, make the experiment yourself, and you will find I speak true; when you meet with any person of the kind, let him go on raging against my New Testament, and when he has talked himself hoarse, ask him whether he has read the work itself. If with unblushing forehead he says he has,—then urge him to point out the passage with which he finds fault; you will not meet with one of them that can do it. But look now, how Christian this proceeding is, how worthy of their profession as Monks,—to tear in tatters before an unlearned audience the reputation of another (which they cannot repair if they wished to do so), when all the while they know nothing at all about the matter with which they find fault; not considering the truth of that saying of St. Paul, Evil-speakers shall not possess the kingdom of God.*

There is no more infamous charge than that of heresy, and this is the charge they bring at once against any one that offends them, even by a nod! And then, as it is said that, among the Swiss, if one man out of a crowd points his finger at a person, all the rest do the same, and run up to the spoil,—so, as soon as any one of this herd begins to grunt, they are presently all grunting together, and inciting the people to throw stones; as if, forgetting their proper profession, they had no other business but this,—to cast a stain, by the virulence of their language, upon the characters

* Non cogitantes vere dixisse Paulum, Maledici regnum Dei non possidebunt. Erasmus had apparently in his recollection the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10). Οὐτε κλέπτει . . οὐ λοιδораί . . βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσι.

of respectable men. To use the words of the Psalmist, 'they have sharpened their tongues like a serpent, adder's poison is under their lips.' Thus those, who ought to be preachers of Christian piety, have chosen to be the detractors of the piety of others, and those who profess themselves hierophants show themselves sycophants. * * * *

This class of people well deserves to be so celebrated in books, that posterity may know something of a singular perversity of mind and character under the pretext of Religion. And this description I may perhaps be able to supply, if I take the trouble to do so; but I am partly dissuaded by Christian forbearance; and moreover I think it unfair, to excite a prejudice against a whole class on account of the malice of a few individuals, when I know that there are many among them, who are as little pleased as myself at their temerity. It is more satisfactory to take account of those persons, excelling both in piety, in learning and in dignity, who thank me for my vigils, such as they are; approving, as I conceive, my efforts, even if I have not accomplished all that I wished. For the rest, if I found that the majority of people were like those sycophants, nothing would have been more easy than to go to sleep and hold my tongue, or sing a song to Christ and myself.

As to their cavil, that I am preparing a new edition because I am not satisfied with the former one,—suppose that to be the case, what fault can they find, if I am anxious to be better than myself, and to do that which was done by Origen, by Jerome, and by Augustine,—especially when I had frankly stated in my first edition, that I intended to do so, if the occasion arose? That is not what I am doing now, but I am adopting the same plan that has been followed in the third edition of the *Adages*. Beside this, whereas in my former translation I had made very sparing changes for fear of giving offence to over sensitive minds, I have now been encouraged by the advice of learned men to venture a little

further in that direction ; and I proceed to support the changes made by a fuller citation of authorities, in order that those who are hard of belief may have no excuse for turning back. And lastly I add some passages, which were then hastily passed over. But if meantime any sentence should occur, which may give offence to learned and pious minds, I do not hesitate to alter it ; having no intention of claiming to be more than a man. This first edition may be despised, if it were not that I have explained in it a number of passages in which Thomas Aquinas went astray, not to speak of other writers. Let my critics deny this, or refute it, if they can. But if it is undeniable, they should acknowledge how much they may be benefited by our labours, by which Aquinas himself would have profited, if he were living. This boast of mine should not be misconstrued as said in his dishonour, as I do not compare myself with him, even if I have made some points clear which escaped his notice. And what has been said of Thomas, they may consider to be said of Liranus, and indeed of Augustine and Hilary. They may despise my work, but they must confess that countless passages are now made plain, which were not understood before, even by persons of more than ordinary learning. I would ask finally, why do they condemn a book, which is not condemned by the Pope, to whom it is dedicated ? I sent it to him ; he has accepted it, he has read it, and has thanked me for it by letter as well as by his acts.

But these wrangling critics, naturally stupid and rendered doubly blind by the malady of evil-speaking, believe, I fancy, that it has been my intention to supersede entirely the Translation which we have in use, and which in several places, I myself prefer to the reading of the Greek copies ; whereas all that I have done is to translate the text which I found in the Greek manuscripts, pointing out in the notes which reading I approve or disapprove. Suppose that I had done nothing but make this translation, so that the

readings of the Greek manuscripts might be compared with the Vulgate even by persons ignorant of Greek, what fault, I ask, would they find in this? As it is, I show by manifest proofs, that in a multitude of passages our version is depraved, but not so far as to endanger the Faith; and I point out how Cyprian, Jerome and Ambrose agree with the Greek manuscripts. And yet those critics of yours cry out, as if some awful crime had been committed. But what avails it, my Mark, to use any arguments with those who wilfully shut their eyes that they may not see, and close their ears that they may not hear. Enough satisfaction has been given them in the Apologies, if they are willing to listen; and, if they are not, we endeavour in vain to satisfy those who had rather calumniate than learn.

But these stern critics find a want of steadiness in me, because they hear that I am preparing to go to Basel. As if I were going to make this journey, or had made it before, for my own amusement! I have edited Jerome, I have edited the Greek Testament, beside many other works; and in order to be of service to the Public, I have taken no account of a most dangerous journey, or of the expenses incurred in it; and I have taken no account of the labours with which a considerable part of my health and life have been worn away. What a marvellous instance of inconsistency it is, when I have not chosen to drink with them, rather than go off to Basel! They run up and down themselves, and fly over lands and seas, not at their own cost,—Mendicity being their profession,—but with money scraped together from widows, whose heads they turn with the burden of sins which they throw upon them; despoiling holy Maidens, and beguiling the genius of simple Brethren for the purpose of mischief, in order to throw discredit upon men who are deserving well of the Christian Commonwealth. And these forsooth are accounted steady and grave persons, while I, because, at my own cost of money and of comfort

I am ministering to the public service, am convicted of inconstancy !

Let him choose, they say, some town for his residence. Do I seem then to be living here in Scythian solitude? Do these people think a man is not in existence, unless they see him constantly at their drinking parties. I hold that my home is at that place, where I have my library, and what little furniture I possess ; and if it is the public service that demands a change of residence, I surely deserve praise for my devotion, not blame for my inconstancy ! If the need of this journey could have been bought off with three hundred gold pieces, I would readily have paid that sum. As it was, the journey had to be made.

I have never changed my locality, unless I was either driven out by plague, or compelled to move by considerations of health or some honourable business. The only journey I ever voluntarily undertook, was my journey to Italy, undertaken partly that I might visit for once the sacred places, and partly that I might enjoy the libraries of that country, and some intercourse with its learned men. Of that inconstancy I have not yet repented.

I have been living here,* without moving, for nearly two years. I might with the amplest expectations have accompanied the Catholic king ; I have been invited with the promise of mountains of gold by the King of the French ; I have been invited with the greatest kindness by the King of England and the Cardinal of York ; and by Francis, Archbishop of Toledo, who has lately died. I have been invited by the Bishop of Paris, by him of Bayeux, by the Archbishop of Mayence, by the Bishops of Liège, of Trèves, of Basel and of Rochester, by the Duke of Bavaria and the

* We should, I think, here understand Erasmus, as speaking of his residence, not at Louvain, but in the Netherlands. After his last visit to Basel, he had arrived at Antwerp at the end of May, 1516 (vol. ii. p. 263) ; and the present letter is dated on Easter Monday (April 5), 1518.

Justification of Travel

Duke of Saxony. I make no false boasts ; what I say is known to many, and may be proved by their own letters. Neglecting all these offers, I have persevered in the business which I had in hand, and am called inconstant, when I am bent upon completing the work, which I had so laboriously begun.

If the merit of constancy consists in occupying the same locality for the longest period, the highest praise is due to rocks and to the stems of trees, and the next to shells and sponges ! It is no fault to change one's locality, but to change it amiss is wrong. It is no merit to have lived long in the same place ; but it is so, to have lived laudably there. Socrates is praised for having resided all his life as an honest citizen in Athens ; on the other hand no fault is found with Plato for travelling. John the Baptist never travelled out of Judæa ; Christ only reached the confines. On the other hand we make no charge of inconstancy against the Apostles, because their travels extended over the world. No one condemns the wanderings of Hilario, because the hermit Paul never left his cavern.* But why should I call these examples to the mind of those, who are not constant even in the same city, but shift from time to time their fold and pasture, and move their lodging whenever they are attracted by a more luxurious or dainty kitchen. They find a lack of constancy in me, because I have not been drinking with them in the same town for five and forty years,—like sponges which live only to soak,—have not been following loose pleasures, nor playing at dice, nor acting the part of sycophant ! For my part, I much prefer my own fickleness to

* Hilario was a Saint of the Fourth Century, whose life was written by St. Jerome ; Paul here alluded to,—one of more than thirty Pauls found in the Calendar,—was Paul, “the first hermit,” who was believed to have lived a solitary life in the Egyptian Desert from his sixteenth to his hundred and thirteenth year, when St. Antony saw his soul carried to heaven by angels amid quires of Apostles and Prophets, Baronius, *Martyrologium*, Oct. 21, Jan. 10.

their constancy, and think it a far finer thing, to have so lived in many places, that the best men, wherever you have been, long for your return, than to have lived in the same town, I will not say disgracefully, but in such a way that it is no matter whether you have lived at all. If a man's health requires a change of locality, will they refuse permission to act on this motive? And they are now finding fault with me, for setting the public advantage before other considerations. They reject the help I offer them; this they may do, if only it is accepted by the good and learned; no one is forced by me to be wiser than he chooses.

But to these people, my Mark, let us bid farewell; and with pure and Christian hearts, while we love the good, let us tolerate the bad, if they refuse to be vanquished even by kindness. The lips will some time or other find a salad to suit them;* the bad knot will meet with a wedge to match it; and seeking to plant their teeth on something soft, they will find it hard.† For my part I have myself neither time nor inclination to struggle with this itch!

I do not want you to fly hither, if not convenient for you, however pleased I should be to see you. I am hoping to visit you shortly myself, and to enjoy your society for some days before going away; though if I do go, it will not be for long. If I go to Basel, I shall come back next autumn; if to Venice, next spring.

I wonder at your not having any recollection of my servant, John, whom I sent to England a month ago, for I think he conveyed my salutation to you.

Farewell, most honest of friends.

Louvain, Easter Monday (5 April), 1518.‡

* Reperient aliquando similes labra lactucas.

† * * dum fragili quærunt illidere dentes,
Illident solido.

‡ Lovanii postridie Paschæ, Anno MD. XVIII.

Epistle 770 is another letter of considerable length,—addressed by Budé to Erasmus in answer to the lengthy letter of Erasmus, which we have translated in full, Epistle 743. This letter of Budé, which was somewhat delayed in transmission, was described by Erasmus in his short reply as a prolix epistle, *prolixa illa tua epistola*. Some extracts only are here translated.

EPISTLE 770. Epist. ad Diversos, p. 169; Epist. iii. 52;
C. 309 (310).

Budé to Erasmus.

Expostulation is again the order of the day! I was complaining of not having received for many months any communication from you having the character of an epistle, when you write me a letter not more copious than quarrelsome,—just as if I had woke you somewhat roughly out of a long sleep, that is to say, a long indifference to our existence. When Hutten, who is now as fast a friend to me and ours as he is to you, was passing this way on his return from the King's company, he exacted from me a hasty letter, in which,—as I was writing either in Greek or Latin whatever came into my head, I did add, I think, a word or two about that *Apologia* of yours, from the publication of which, as well as from what Lefèvre had written, I inferred with regret, that something like a quarrel had arisen between you. I do not exactly remember what I wrote, the letter being one of that kind, of which I do not keep copies. With those few words your bile has been so grievously stirred, that you have all at once turned your horns against the peace-maker,—as if I had either thoughtlessly or purposely interfered in your dispute upon Lefèvre's part; and you have now directed your attack mainly against me, when I was not even expressing an opinion on the matter, although in the midst of your expostulation you do appear now and then to accost me in a friendly way, and offer me a kiss!

Now I would have you know, in the first place, that I have not been assuming the part of peace-maker or of umpire in this dispute,—not that I feared you would not allow me to do so, if I offered it, or would be angry at my taking so much upon me, but because I have never had any talk with Lefèvre about the matter, and there was therefore no reason why I should affect to take cognisance of a case, which was not left on both sides to my decision, or expressly submitted to it. It is true that Lewis Ruzé, subprefect of Paris,*—spontaneous friend as he is to all the learned,—did call on me to interfere, and blamed me in reproachful terms when I refused. But being sorry for your position as a very dear friend, I was bound to send you a word of advice, for this, if for no other, reason, that you might not suppose me to have been asleep, when the dispute between you and Lefèvre has been so often discussed before a crowded audience at the bar of public opinion; and also,—to admit the truth,—because I count him too among my friends. But I am that husband of Pandora,† who, according to your cavil, am proposing a cure for a matter that is past remedy, and after the ruin of Troy is complete, am insisting that Helen ought never to have been carried off! But hark, my true Prometheus! do you remember writing to me the following words? “Lefèvre, after having been so often named by me with some honourable preface, is requiting me in a manner, which seems to many persons unfair. I think myself too, that he is treating me more roughly than from his usual candour one might expect. I am sorry that this handle has been given,” etc.‡

* Ludovicus Rusæus is mentioned in Epistle 483 (Budé to Erasmus), partly translated vol. ii. p. 436, as an intimate literary ally of the writer, professionally occupied with Law, but devoted by his own taste to Literature.

† Epimetheus.

‡ The letter of Erasmus to Budé, in which this passage occurred, does not appear to have been preserved.

If you had warned me then, that you were thinking of an *Apologia*, I might perhaps have assumed the part of adviser. But you did in fact make an Epimetheus of me, so that by your means I could not learn what was to be produced on the stage, before you sent the prologue on to the boards. "What is the object," you will say, "of this admonition, unless you would pass an adverse judgment upon my *Apologia*, as you are wont to treat my works with a sort of prejudice, which is scarcely justified, as some think, by the assurance of a firm friendship"? I pray now, Erasmus, after biting your lip awhile, do lend me a short term of patience, while I do a little scolding in return. * * *

But "Come," you say, "I submit the matter to your judgment; I acknowledge the law of Friendship; what do you decide that I should do? Do you advise me, as a friend, to thank Lefèvre for the honour he has done me? Or should I rather pretend not to know what he has written?" Why, I answer, should I not so advise, if you were free to do so? The advice would be given,—in the first place, to Erasmus, then to a Theologian, and finally to such a Theologian as may be justly confident, that he has won so great a position that he needs no longer to depend upon the eulogy of others. You have no need to fear,—whatever Lefèvre may have written,—that your reputation is in danger unless you meet his argument with a long and careful defence.

* * * *

As an authority for the course you have taken, you will be quoting your Jerome, who would not tolerate the figures of Ruffinus, and met Augustine with threats on account of the misquotation of a single passage. But who can say with what stripes that great man may have atoned for this offence at the tribunal of Christ? I had rather you would put Jerome before me as a whole for emulation, than show me, by way of example, a mole that you have found upon him.

It was thus, that in the Minerva of Phidias the sandal did not escape criticism. Jerome was not infallible ; and Augustine confessed, that he had himself written many things amiss, devoting privately some books to this very matter. I can see you stamping your foot for indignation, but you must push on to the end, and lend your ears to devour what I am saying, as you in your long epistle have upset me at your pleasure, as if in betrayal of our friendship, I had sided with your adversary.

* * * *

It is strange that Tunstall has not written in answer to my letter, and I am afraid he has not yet quite recovered his health. And I have not yet received a copy of my Epistle to him, as I wrote to you before,—and do not know whether it has been lost,—but if you are very desirous of having it, it may be put together again from the rough draft, when I have time to do so.†

Our Prelate Stephen‡ has come here for some days from Court, but has been summoned back again, and is going to return the day after tomorrow. I have twice had some speech with him, but not without other persons being present. He keeps you always in his eye,—a thing which chafes me extremely,§ with the fact which I heard from him, that the courtiers and the King himself never cease to make you a subject of talk.

The King has directed Bishop Justinian of the Society of St. Dominic to be summoned from Italy, and another learned Hebrew scholar, named, I think, *Ritius* ; while

† Erasmus appears to have asked for a copy of Budé's letter to Tunstall, for his collection of Epistles. This letter, dated at Paris, Ascension day (19 May), 1517, is printed among the Epistles of Erasmus in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, p. 76, and in the London collection, ii. 30. See our vol. ii. p. 557.

‡ Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris.

§ *quæ res urit me maxime*. I understand this ironically, as if he had written : of course this praise of you makes me very jealous.

he has already here a rival of Mithridates,* who knows almost all the tongues, as is reported by those who have seen the man. When the Bishop was himself speaking of these persons in my presence, and I had made some ordinary observation, "What do you, Master Budé," said he, "think about Erasmus? do you know what his views are, and whether, by any emolument worthy of him, he can be attracted to France?" "If," said I, "you think that the king has really set his heart upon it, I will not refuse to smell out afresh, whether he could be induced to remove *to Paris*, and fix his residence *there*, inasmuch as, if I know him aright, he would not accept even a rich bishopric, to begin a life among courtiers." To cut the matter short, not having leisure to write to you himself, the Bishop has commissioned me to sound your wishes, and to authorise you to write to him what your views are, so that he may himself take charge of the business at Court. It is therefore for you, fastidious little person as you are, to see, take counsel, and determine, whether you will become ours. Please have done with your airs, to use a word fit for a Comedy,† and state what you want given you by way of stipend, to grow old among us; and then your income will, he thinks, be soon increased by a benefice. If you make up your mind to pass over to us, you will be welcomed by many of our countrymen, of whom we have not a few furnished even with a knowledge of both tongues; and you will have Budé to be sometimes your playfellow, in whose company, when you more nearly and surely know him, you may glitter even in the dark. You must some time or other have indeed propitiated the Graces, when with a few days' intercourse you have made that sensible person so admire and love you! For the favour in which

* Mithridates, king of Pontus, was said to have spoken twenty-two languages.

† *Delicias facere tandem desine, ut utar verbo comico.*

you stand with so many of our countrymen who have never seen you, is due to the sweetness of your style, and to a genius shown in your works, which delights and cheers your readers, and which is not found by Frenchmen in the writings of their own countrymen. * *

If I am the first to be called by you into counsel, I shall have no hesitation in advising, that both your reputation and your fortune will be best secured, if you betake yourself hither with the instrument of your studies,† to become the ornament of the School which, as it is said, our Prince desires to establish in this city. When you have decided upon your course, you will write to the Bishop of Paris, and fix, if you see fit, the amount of your stipend and journey-money. I think that is a better course, than employing me as agent in making the bargain, as I understand that he is the principal architect in the foundation of our School; and as he is very much your well-wisher, he will arrange everything for you with the Prince, and take good care of your interest. * * * *

Your friend Glarean has been appointed successor to Faustus upon his death, and will have the stipend.‡ Fortune is so favourable to you, as to advance the interests even of your friends; he is now known to the Bishop of Paris, and in favour with him. Our friend Deloin has bid me send his greeting to you; he had lately returned from the Court, when I received your letter. Ruzé is much attached to you, and has devoted a shelf in his library to your books, which he takes up when he wants to put me out of humour,§ as I am a good deal with him! Jacobus Tusanus, learned in both tongues, who is also his fellow-lodger, is thinking of

† cum instrumento studiorum tuorum. With your library.

‡ Faustus Andrelinus, who appears to have lately died, had been Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Paris. See our first volume, pp. 28, 191.

§ cum mihi stomachum commovere vult. Of course he knows how jealous I am of you.

writing to you, in which I encourage him, and scold him for his bashfulness, so religiously do they all think you ought to be approached,—all, that is, except me, who have foresworn blushes. Farewell, and wipe out all suspicion and contention from your mind.

Paris, 12 April, 1518.*

P.S. After finishing the above letter† I have got back with no little trouble my epistle to Tunstall; which however I cannot conveniently send you, because it has not yet been copied, and I want to keep a copy myself, lest it should be lost in the journey. If therefore you would really like me to send it, I will have it transcribed. You have above an epistle sufficiently long, and as badly written as if it had been in my own handwriting! But you will not be able to charge me with *dyscolographia*, when I employ on your account the services of an amanuensis! Farewell again.

* Parisiis pridie idus Aprilis. *Epist. ad diversos*. Anno 1518. C.

† At the end of a letter dictated to a clerk, the writer adds a few lines, which, we may suppose, are in his own hand.

CHAPTER L.

Continued Residence of Erasmus at Louvain in the latter half of April, 1518. Letters to Gerard of Nimeguen, Gillis, Lefèvre, Pace, Bullock, Bedill, Colet, Tunstall, Grolier, King Henry VIII., More, Cardinal Grimani, and others. Epistles 771 to 800.

The following epistle, addressed to Gerard of Nimeguen, was first printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, with the date, Lovanii, decimo quinto Calendas Maias, Anno M.D.XIV. We may well assume the date of place and day to be correctly copied from the original epistle, but it is plain that the year-date, no doubt afterwards added, is erroneous. On the 17th of April, 1514, Erasmus was in London (see vol. ii. pp. 128, 133); and it seems most probable that in this letter we ought to read the year-date of 1518. Gerard of Nimeguen, whom we have seen, some eighteen months before (vol. ii. p. 431), assisting Erasmus in the publication of More's *Utopia*, appears to have been a chaplain in the household of the Bishop of Utrecht, a see, which, having been formerly filled by David,—a natural son of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,—by whom Erasmus had been ordained priest some six and twenty years before,* was now occupied by Philip, another illegitimate son of the same duke. And the purpose of the following letter was to apologise for the writer not having made a call upon the Bishop, which appeared to have been due.

EPISTLE 771. *Farrago*, p. 322 ; Ep. x. 25 ; C. 134 (153).

Erasmus to Gerard of Nimeguen.†

With what imprecation shall I greet you, my Gerard, such as your acts deserve? I pray that you may soon be enduring

* See before, pp. 30, 31, and vol. i. p. 85. † Gerardo Noviomago Reverendiss. D. Traiectensis a sacris Erasmus Roterodamus s. p.

the burden of some weighty benefice ! You had said,—and others too,—that our Reverend Prelate was not going away for four or five days, and according to the usual fashion of speech I doubled the number, thinking that before a week at least he would not be shifting his quarters. I saw that the Prince was much occupied and had no leisure just then ; I also divined that your dinner hour at the palace would be late, while my stomach was already clamouring. I accordingly withdrew, leaving word at your room, that I should wait at home on that day, if the Bishop had any commands for me. No message came ; and next morning I came back to Louvain, thinking it was of no great importance, whether any arrangement, which I might make about an interview with the Bishop, was made there or here, and leaving a note at the house to explain that I should be ready to come upon the first summons. This very day I had almost made up my mind to run over, when—in comes your old messmate, Paludanus, bringing word that my lord is going away to-day. If this is really the case, you must play the part of a kind patron, and prevent him from suspecting anything but what is the fact,—indeed you will yourself be principally answerable, having taken me in by what you told me.

Believe me, there is no Prince in the world whom I more heartily desire to gratify than Philip, not only because I am under his allegiance, but also on account of his excellence in every way, and because he looks with favour upon our small talent. There seems indeed to be some silent and secret feeling in my mind, by which I am impelled to regard him with reverence. For courtly duties I am certainly not worth much, but where my faculty lies, I intend to make it clear, how truly his Highness is regarded by me both with respect and with love.

I have not often ventured to address the Bishop himself by letter, and beg you to stand in the place of an Epistle to him. If he calls me, I will fly to him ; if not, I shall take

all the more pains to hasten my journey, so that I may return the sooner. I am thinking of being back before October, and shall then, I trust, have got clear of the theological jungle in which I am now moving, and shall have leisure to devote myself with a tranquil mind to the Muses and to my friends. Neither should I be undertaking this most dangerous journey, unless the consideration of my good name imposed it on me. Wherever in the world Erasmus may be, his Highness the Bishop will have a client heartily devoted to him, and your Reverence a sincere friend. Farewell, best of Patrons.

Louvain, 17 April, [1518].*

It appears by the following letter, which bears the same date as the last, that Peter Gillis's health was causing great anxiety to his friends.

EPISTLE 772. Auctarium, p. 149 ; Ep. iii. 10 ; C. 236 (240).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

For our friendship's sake, which cannot be closer than it is, and for the sake of the recovery of your health, which I have as much at heart as my own, pray do your best, my Peter, that when I return I may find you cheerful and in good spirits. I shall then seem to myself to have indeed returned safe. Be cautious in your diet, till Adrian comes back, in whom I really have the greatest confidence ; it is some comfort to have a doctor one likes. But meantime beware of exhausting your strength by drugs too frequently taken. And above all things keep clear from every violent excitement of mind, from excessive merriment, or intemperate laughter, and also from fatiguing walking, or prolonged study, and especially from loss of temper. My dear

* Lovanij xv. Calendas Maias. *Jarrago*.

Peter, everything must be sacrificed for the preservation of life. Perhaps my advice may not be welcome, I only wish it may be as fortunate as it is sincere. Of my own risk I think nothing, if only you come back to life, that is, if we can but have you strong and healthy again. Farewell, with your sweet wife and charming children.

Louvain, 17 April, [1518].*

Epistle 773, addressed by Erasmus to Lefèvre, contains a sort of personal apology for the *Apologia ad Fabrum* (which appears to have been first printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain about the end of August, 1517, and afterwards by Froben in the following February), with a plea to be allowed to receive from his correspondent a few conciliatory lines in return. See before, pp. 5, 52, 261-271.

EPISTLE 773. Auctarium, p. 148 ; Ep. iii. 9 ; C. 236 (239).

Erasmus to James Lefèvre.

Most learned and excellent Lefèvre, I have already testified by more than one letter, how grieved I am, that a handle should have been put within reach of evil-speakers, for chattering in their fashion about us. I anticipated that this bad result would arise ; but as it was not open for me to leave your attack without an answer, I chose, of two evils, what seemed the less. The only thing I now see left, is to beg you,—for the sake of Christian charity and our common interest in sacred studies, and for the good name of each of us, which by the law of Friendship is equally dear to

Erasmus is not discussed, the part of one or the other being taken by the speakers, especially by persons who are quite ignorant of the matter.

Different reports are spread about you, some persons asserting that a 'recrimination' is being prepared on your part, while others say, that you do not deign to reply to Erasmus. Some say again, that you do not blame me for having defended myself, while some on the other hand find fault with my temerity. For my own part I am not very anxious whether you answer or not, provided you abstain from such odious expressions as it does not become you to cast against a friend, and as I should not be at liberty to overlook. But it is grievous, that on our account dissensions should be spread among Christians, and that those persons should exult over our differences, who are alike hostile to your studies and to mine. I do not call upon you for a retractation, although I have been shamefully assailed, but only to testify by some sort of letter, that while you have been contending for the purpose of arriving at the truth, our minds are still in concord. If you do not like to do this, I would rather have you answer, than irritate your friends by your silence, provided you observe that moderation, which becomes your character. No mortal has heard me speak otherwise than both lovingly and respectfully of Lefèvre; only I do admit, that I wonder what induced you to write against me as you have done; and Christ is my witness, that what I say is what I feel. Farewell, best of men.

Louvain, 17 April, [1518].*

William Nesen, the correspondent addressed in the following epistle, had been known to Erasmus at Basel, as corrector of Froben's press. Vol. ii. pp. 196, 197, 383. It appears from this letter, that he was still at Basel, but preparing for a journey to Rome.

* Louanio 17. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 774. C. 1600 (127).

Erasmus to William Nesen.

What business have you with Rome, especially when the summer is so near? I am going myself to stay at Basel until the winter, if I may only push my way thither.*

John Smith is returning to his England, by his mamma's wish, as she does not think her son safe unless she sees him in Britain; and he is to live in More's household. As for More himself, he is now quite a Courtier, always attending on the King, whose Secretary he is; Pace is simply triumphant.† The King has sent me a present of sixty angels, offering a church living of a hundred marks, but says he will not collate me to it, unless I come in person.

I fancy Glarean has already gone; but if the man is still with you, take the trouble to greet him in my name.

Louvain, 17 April [1518].‡

Peter Vitre (Petrus Viterius or Veterius) was an old friend, and his intimacy continued to the end of the life of Erasmus, under whose Will he was a legatee.§ When his name last occurred in our pages, he was with Thomas Grey, at Paris. Vol. ii. pp. 311, 476, 477. Grey has now come to Louvain, and is intending shortly to return to England. Vitre is apparently still at Paris, and Erasmus, in sending a despatch to that city, takes the opportunity of writing a few lines to him.

* Ego Basileæ sum usque ad hyemem acturus, si modo liceat irrumpere. The editor in C. has a despairing note on this clause, which he regards as *locus mire depravatus ac mutilus*. But it seems free from difficulty, if *agere* is understood in a neuter sense as equivalent to *vitam agere*, a use of the verb which appears to be not without classical authority. The writer had in prospect a somewhat dangerous journey to Basel, where he intended to spend the summer and autumn; and the proposed plan agrees very nearly with what actually took place.

† As to Pace's close alliance with More, see our vol. ii. p. 256.

‡ Lovanio 17. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

§ For Erasmus's Will, see Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, ii. 486.

EPISTLE 775. C. 1600 (128).

*Erasmus to Peter Vitre.**

I am surprised at Thomas Grey having left your parts without any letter from you to me. He is now with us at Louvain, but will soon return to England. We are ourselves flying off to Basel, where we are going to publish some things which cannot be printed without us.

Meantime, dearest Peter, take pains to be well. Grey sends his greeting to you.

Louvain, 17 April [1518].†

It appears from the concluding words of the following letter, that *Erasmus's epistles to his other Parisian correspondents were sent to them through the printer, Bade*. Erasmus had heard with some alarm from the brothers Amerbach, who appear to be now at Paris, that John Le Petit, bookseller of that city, whose shop is mentioned in a letter of Budé as one of his own resorts (Epistle 505, vol. ii. p. 468), was proposing to print a rival edition of the Works of Jerome.

EPISTLE 776. C. 1600 (126).

Erasmus to Bade.

I do wish, my Bade, that you had a good supply of Greek type. I am now compelled to go to Basel at the risk of my life, as the New Testament cannot pass through the Press without my being there.

The excellent brothers Amerbach write me word, that John surnamed Little is making some sort of threat, that he is going to print Jerome's Works in contempt of the Papal Interdict, and indeed in disregard of all proper feeling. He had better look out ; while he is preparing to do mischief to

* Erasmus Petro Viterio suo s.d. C.

† 17 Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

others, he may bring some mischief on himself. I do not doubt you have some intimacy with the man, and beg you to restrain him from doing anything so uncivil. Take care that Budé and Lefèvre have their letters. Farewell.

Louvain, 17 April [1518].*

Epistle 777 is a short and friendly note addressed to Budé, in which Erasmus mentions the troublesome letter (*satis molestam epistolam*), which he had himself written to his correspondent about his controversy with Lefèvre, and to which he had not yet received an answer. The letter was, no doubt, Epistle 743, written some eight weeks before, and Budé's answer, Epistle 770, had not yet reached Louvain.

EPISTLE 777. C. 1678 (278).

Erasmus to Budé.

I sent by a letter-carrier a sufficiently troublesome letter, in which I dilute in some degree the objections, which are often made by persons who think it a bold proceeding on my part to have answered Lefèvre; I suppose it has been delivered to you.

Tunstall in a letter to me excuses himself for not answering you; he is so immersed in business, both public and private, that up to this time he has not been his own master.

I am betaking myself to Basel, to edit the New Testament. Take care of yourself, and love us as you are wont to do.

Louvain, 18 April, 1518.†

In prospect of a convenient opportunity of sending a despatch to England, Erasmus on the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th of April found leisure to prepare a parcel of some fourteen letters addressed to correspondents in this country, beginning with an epistle to Richard Pace, which we may suspect to have been intended to be read to the King, and ending with letters to King Henry himself and to More, to

* Lovanio 17. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

† Lovanio 18. Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

the latter of whom this parcel, entrusted to Thomas Grey for carriage to England, appears to have been sent for distribution. See note, p. 370.

EPISTLE 778. Auctarium, p. 153 ; Ep. iii. 14 ; C. 237 (241).

Erasmus to Richard Pace.

Your King's Court in Britain is brilliant indeed, the seat and citadel of the best studies and of the highest characters ! I congratulate you, my Pace, upon having such a Sovereign, and I congratulate the Prince himself, whose reign is made illustrious by so many lights of genius ; and on both accounts I congratulate your England, a fortunate country in many ways besides, but so excelling in these respects, that no region in the world can be compared with it. Now at any rate a whole lifetime may be spent with advantage in a country, where under princely favour Good Letters are dominant, the love of Honour is strong, and a sentence of banishment has been passed against that futile and tasteless learning with its masked affectation of holiness, which used to be in fashion with uneducated men of education. I grieve to hear that Grocyn is failing ; while I see, that in place of one learned scholar so many will soon grow up. In the loving care with which you have attended to my business, I am pleased to recognize your old interest on my behalf.

I wish I were at liberty to commit to some other person the province of editing the New Testament ; but, as the saying is, whatever the mortar may contain, having pounded it myself, I must eat it all up.* And I trust that in this matter those chatterers may be disappointed.

* Verum hoc quidquid est mortarii, quando intrivi, mihi totum est exedendum. Erasmus in the *Adagia* (I. i. 85) cites this phrase from Terence :

Tute hoc intristi, tibi omne est exedendum ; accingere.

These words, which have a proverbial character, occur in *Phormio*, act. iii. sc. 1. The same quotation is made in a previous letter. See Epistle 711, p. 194.

I am on excellent terms with the theologians of Louvain. The School of Cologne is agitated by sad dissensions ; the letters that pass between the parties have sharp teeth, and they are beginning to bring my name into the quarrel ! Dorpius appears to me to have become a sincere friend. I shall endeavour to be restored to you before the winter, if the Powers above permit me to return.

The Paraphrase has been printed again at Basel. And the *Apologia*, in which I meet the complaints of Lefèvre,* has lately come out at Basel with some annotations, having been originally printed at Strasburg.

I pray God Almighty to keep that mind in you, and to preserve you for us long in health and safety.

Louvain, 22 April, 1518.†

William Gunnell, of Landbeach, near Cambridge, will be remembered as a friend of Erasmus in the autumn of 1513, when the latter took refuge in his house from the plague then prevailing at Cambridge. See vol. ii. pp. 85, 614. Of John Clement, a young protégé of More, who had apparently by this time been introduced into the service of Wolsey, we have also read something in the same volume. He was then a youth of promise, in whom Erasmus was evidently interested, and he became afterwards a distinguished physician. See vol. ii. p. 262.

EPISTLE 779. Auctarium, p. 152 ; Ep. iii. 13 ; C. 237 (242).

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

Your little present was welcome, your friendly letter more welcome still, and most welcome of all, that love which remains unaffected by so long a break in our intercourse.

* *Apologia qua Fabrum placo.* See pp. 5, 23, 183, 304, 340.

† Lovanio 22. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

Tell Clement, who seems a most promising youth, by way of message from me, that he must abstain from study at unseasonable hours,—I remember how he sticks to his book,—and especially that he had better, as far as he is allowed to do so, give up writing at night. If by any chance he is obliged to write for the Cardinal's business, he should accustom himself to do so, standing. I should be sorry that this genius should be lost before its time, and would rather see it saved for study, than spent upon the Cardinal's affairs. Farewell.

Louvain, 22 April [1518].*

We have seen that Doctor Sampson had written to Erasmus a letter dated the 2nd of March, from Tournay, where he was resident as an agent of Wolsey. See Epistle 744, p. 274. To that letter Erasmus wrote the following reply. This epistle has no date of day, but was probably written not long before Erasmus's departure from Louvain,—in the latter part of April, 1518; and it is not improbable that it was sent to More, to be forwarded by him to Tournay with any other despatches that he might have to send from England to that place. We are reminded by this letter, that Sampson had been among Erasmus's acquaintance at some time during the residence of the latter at Cambridge, 1511-1513. See our vol. ii. p. 209.

EPISTLE 780. Auctarium, p. 139; Ep. iii. 5; C. 366 (352).

Erasmus to Richard Sampson.†

It is, as you write, most accomplished Richard, a strong argument to show the reality of our attachment, that we have so many distinguished friends in common; especially as they have not been introduced by one of us to the other.

* Lovanio 22. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

† Erasmus Rot. eximio Juris utriusque Doctori Richardo Sampsoni S. D.

It seems therefore as if the thing were governed by some hidden power of destiny ; though in any case I should be very wanting in kind feeling, if I had not a special regard for one with whom, formerly at Cambridge and more lately at Tournay, I have had the pleasantest possible intercourse. What indeed can be sweeter than your character ? And you have already so acted, that I should be sadly wanting not only in courtesy, but in gratitude, if I did not inscribe among the names of my chief patrons that of Sampson, who, without claim or request, or expectation of mine, procured for me a prebend at Tournay ; for my not obtaining the stall was caused by my own absence ; and I therefore hold myself to be fully indebted to you for it, as it is by no fault of yours that I am not in possession of it.*

The Most Reverend Cardinal is very kind in his promises, but I have reached an age, which does not tarry for lingering hopes ; though indeed sufficient provision has been already made for the mind that I have, and the leisure that I enjoy.

I am very glad that my Paraphrase has your approval, and especially that it has that of John Desmoulins, a person of refined taste.† He has on a former occasion carried my salutation to you, and you have now to return the same courtesy to him ; pray do so without fail.

Louvain, [April], 1518.‡

In the following letter, addressed to an old Cambridge friend, Erasmus gives an account of his relations with Lefèvre, referring especially to his own letter (Epistle 773), lately addressed to him. Dr. Henry Bullock (Bovillus) was a resident Fellow of Queen's College, where Erasmus appears to have himself resided for a time in the spring of 1506. See vol. i. p. 401.

* See vol. ii, pp. 209-211, 257.

† homini naris emunctæ. John Desmoulins, a Canon of Tournay, was a correspondent of Erasmus. See vol. ii. pp. 211, 228, 433.

‡ Lovanii, Anno M.D.XVIII. C.

EPISTLE 781. Auctarium, p. 154; Ep. iii. 15; C. 237 (243).

Erasmus to Henry Bullock.

I see, my dear Bullock, such an amount of perversity and ingratitude among men, that I have almost made up my mind,—when the New Testament has been edited once more,—to sing a song for the future to myself and the Muses. There is a conspiracy of some masked players, pretending to be Curii,* who bark from a distance, but when in your presence,—not a word from any one of them; while among the vulgar they are spreading false stories worthy of such buffoons; just as if it was their very profess'ion to take away, with their lies, another man's good name.

I am sorry that my difference with Lefèvre has led to any dispute among our friends. I wrote lately to the man, that he should either publish a letter to show that we are on good terms, if he is ashamed to admit he was wrong,—or that he should answer, if he has any defence to make, provided only he abstain from such extremely friendly expressions as those in which he before indulged. As it is, I see that his silence excites more dissension, as every one has his own suspicion. There is no end to strife; and if this mischief attends on studies, it is better to sleep than to write.

Farewell, most learned Bullock. Pray give my salutation to all friends, and especially to Vaughan and Brian.†

Louvain, 23 April [1518].‡

* qui Curios simulant. The allusion is to Marcus Curius Dentatus, conqueror of Pyrrhus and of the Samnites, regarded as the type of ancient Roman simplicity, and so characterized by Horace in one of his Odes.

Hunc et incomtis Curium capillis

Utilem bello tulit et Camillum

Sæva paupertas.

HORAT. *Od.* I. xii. 41.

† The most learned John Brian and the most courteous John Vaughan are saluted at the end of an earlier letter to Bullock. Epistle 441, vol. ii. p. 332.

‡ Lovanii ix. Calend. Maias. Anno MD. xvii. C.

The following Epistle appears to be an answer to a letter received from Bishop Fisher, which has not been preserved. The battle or quarrel, which was taking place in the Theological School of Cologne, has been mentioned in Epistle 778. See p. 346.

EPISTLE 782. C. 1604 (133).

Erasmus to the Bishop of Rochester.

Reverend Father, I congratulate you, as well as myself, on that truly Christian spirit of yours, and pray that we may long be permitted to enjoy it. I was looking for your judgment about Reuchlin's booklet, but I see that your time is devoted to more important matters.

At Cologne that diabolical battle is becoming more and more fierce, being fought on both sides with paper that bites; and these disturbances in the Christian world are promoted by sycophants in cowls, who would have themselves thought to be heralds of Gospel teaching!

Louvain, 23 April [1518].*

The following short scolding note is addressed to Peter Vannes, otherwise called Peter Ammonius (the cousin and executor of Andrew Ammonius), who had come to England upon the death of his kinsman, and to whom Erasmus had applied for the return of his own numerous Epistles addressed to his deceased friend, and of some other papers left in his hands, including a copy of his own Papal Dispensation. See our vol ii. pp. 460-464; and in this volume, Epistle 741, pp. 252, 253. The present Epistle answers one which has not survived.

EPISTLE 783. C. 1604 (132).

Erasmus to Peter Vannes.

You have sent me at last one or two sheets, whereas I wrote Ammonius such a number of lengthy letters; and

* Lovanio 23. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

you have not delivered to the boy the Cardinal's epistle to me.* If you have yourself so little regard for the credit of Ammonius, why do you ask me to take his glory into consideration? Meantime you cram into your letter I know not what injurious observations; and to cut the matter short, I look quite in vain for the character of Ammonius in you. To conclude, while you have sealed your own letter, you delivered to the boy the copy of my Dispensation open,—a thoughtful act, worthy of an Ammonius! Farewell.

Louvain, 23 April [1518].

Epistle 784 is addressed to Doctor John Sixtinus. It will be remembered, that this old friend of Erasmus was a Frieslander by birth,—long settled in England, and practising as a lawyer in the English ecclesiastical courts,—whose acquaintance Erasmus had made at Oxford during his residence there in 1499. See vol. i. p. 209. At a much more recent date, 9 April, 1517, Sixtinus had acted a confidential part, as witness to the Absolution of Erasmus under the Dispensation obtained for him through the exertions of Ammonius from Pope Leo X. See vol. ii. pp. 461, 541. It appears from the following letter, that Erasmus was in receipt of a yearly pension, of which the payment for the "seventeenth year" was already owing, and that for the "eighteenth year" would soon become due. Considering to whom the letter is addressed, we may conjecture that this annuity was payable in England, where it will be remembered that Erasmus was entitled, under an arrangement made on his behalf by Archbishop Warham in November, 1514, to a pension of twenty pounds, which appears to have been due in the November of every year, from Richard Master, the Rector of Aldington, in whose favour Erasmus had resigned that living. See vol. ii. pp. 64, 65. The yearly payments of the pension mentioned in the present letter appear to have been forwarded to Erasmus through the agency of the money-broker, Maruffo; and the last payment received is described as that of

* These words require explanation. It seems that Andrew Ammonius had had in his possession a letter addressed by some Cardinal to Erasmus, which Vannes had neglected to forward by his messenger. See pp. 352, 353.

"the seventeenth year," while Maruffo was prepared to advance the payment due for "the eighteenth year." The pension having apparently been in existence only three or four years, it may be presumed, that in these accounts the seventeenth and eighteenth years are those of the Century, 1517 and 1518, the sum due in the former year having been already paid by the Rector to Maruffo, and the latter being ready to advance to Erasmus, if he required it, the payment that would become due in 1518. In the last clause Erasmus repeats to Sixtinus his complaint of the conduct of Peter Ammonius or Vannes. See the last Epistle.

EPISTLE 784. C. 1679 (281).

Erasmus to John Sixtinus.

Most learned Sixtinus, I have already given Francis a bill, which relates to the pension of the eighteenth year, as he was prepared to pay that money to me, if I had not, on account of the risks of travelling, thought it better to take his bill. Upon the supposition that the money, which I received from Maruffo's partners, was paid on account of the Pension, I am sending a bill for the seventeenth year, of which you will make use, if it turns out that the payment was made on this account; for the Italian man, who brought it to me, showed neither letter nor bill, nor made it clear on what account the payment was made, admitting only that it was sent by Maruffo; and I did not therefore think it my business to say anything about the payment of the pension, when the payment was not made on any special account. Only I was aware of your mistake in thinking that the bill, which bore date in the eighteenth year, had been sent for Maruffo's money, as if I was going to add, for Francis's money, another bill of the nineteenth year.

What creature on earth can be more wicked than this Peter Ammonius? It is a true Italian character! He sends me one or two letters out of so many, omitting to

send the epistle written by the Cardinal to me ; * and of the copies of the Dispensation he sends only one, upon which some notes are written in my hand, and this he delivers open to the servant, when he had taken pains to seal up some trash of his own ! I should like to have the opportunity some time or other of paying out this portent, so utterly unlike the old Ammonius, if *he* did not altogether impose upon us ! Farewell, most learned Sixtinus.

Louvain, 23 April [1518].†

The following letter addressed to Thomas Bedill, a secretary of Archbishop Warham, and dated the day before the four preceding epistles, appears to relate to the pension which is the principal subject of the last epistle, and which was paid to Erasmus through the agency of Maruffo or his partners.

EPISTLE 785. C. 1678 (279).

Erasmus to Thomas Bedill.‡

It has been inconvenient, that my John has come back hither without a letter from you.§ In bidding me send a bill

* See p. 351, and note there.

† Lovanio 23. Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

‡ Erasmus Rot. Thomæ Bidello suo. C. In a letter of More (Epistle 471, vol. ii. p. 424) I have spelt this name (there printed Bedillus) Bedill, and have followed the same spelling in the address of Epistle 751. And we may observe upon this unimportant question, that Epistle 413, vol. ii. p. 290, appears to have borne in the original (see C. 1609) the *signature*, Thomas Bedillus, which would give the writer's own sanction to this spelling. An English letter apparently written by the same person, printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 76, is signed, Thomas Bedyll. The Anglo-Saxon original appears to be written, Bydel ; the modern English is Beadle.

§ Nonnihil molestum fuit, quod meus Joannes hinc [*qu. huc*] sine tuis litteris redierit. C. It appears that Erasmus had sent his servant, John Smith, with letters to England, and that the latter had come back for a few days, before returning to his friends at Cambridge. See pp. 342, 361, and vol. iii. pp. 92, 93.

for the pension of the nineteenth year,* I conclude you have not gone carefully into the matter, as I had not sent the bill, which is now in your hands, for money received by me from Maruffo, but for that which was paid by Francis, certainly by bill.† I have received money from Benedict de Furnariis to the amount of one hundred and sixty-six Pounds of France and eight stivers, but without any particulars,‡ except that they said, that a bill was sent by Raphael, though they showed none to me. If this sum has been paid on account of the pension, it was paid for the seventeenth year, being the year last past, for which I have sent a bill to Sixtinus by the bearer of this, my servant John. I have sent another bill for the current eighteenth year; this relates to money paid in advance, having been paid at the beginning of the year, when the whole sum was not due till the next Lady-day. But if I acknowledged satisfaction for the nineteenth year, I should represent that as done, which has not been done, and should cheat myself of one year's pension.

Take care, that I find you well, when I return; and in dealing with my Reverend patron, play the part of Bedill in your usual fashion.§

Louvain, 22 April, 1518.||

Erasmus's old friend and pupil, Richard Croke, who had learned Greek from Grocyn, and been Professor of that language at Leipzig in the summer of 1516, had returned to England in May, 1517. He

* The nineteenth, eighteenth and seventeenth years in this letter appear to be those of the Century. See pp. 351, 352.

† quam dedit Franciscus certe in syngrapha.

‡ et st. 8. sed sine ullo titulo. Dutch *stuivers*, commonly called *stivers*, were formerly well known in England, and were reckoned as about equivalent to English halfpennies. The word is so explained in Johnson's Dictionary.

§ solitum-age Bidellum. See a note upon this name in the last page.

|| Lovanio 23 Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

was now Greek professor at Cambridge, and had been able to lend to Erasmus a manuscript copy of Theocritus, which the latter had returned by the hands of Thomas Grey, having lately acquired for himself a copy of the recently issued first printed edition of that poet. See the letter below, and p. 360, near the foot of the page.

EPISTLE 786. C. 1678 (280).

Erasmus to Richard Croke.

I congratulate you, my Croke, on that splendid professorship,—an appointment not less honourable to you than fruitful for the Academy of Cambridge, in whose welfare I take an especial interest on account of the hospitality I have enjoyed there.

You must know, that none of your booklets have been delivered to me. Only Francis has shown me some epistles in Greek revised by you, which I approved; but he said they were intended for some one else. I have returned your Theocritus to Master Thomas Grey.

Farewell, my dearest Croke.

Louvain, 23 April, 1518.*

In the first sentence of the following Epistle Erasmus refers to a longer letter to Colet,—Epistle 757,—in which he had returned thanks for some trouble taken by his correspondent to obtain pecuniary assistance for him from King Henry. See p. 299. In the second clause he expresses his disapproval of what he thought was a mistaken indulgence on the part of some German Princes in the treatment of robber bands, which appear to have been at their mercy. We have seen the opinion of Erasmus very strongly expressed in a former letter,—Epistle 763, p. 312,—that the Princes of Germany were to blame for the unsafe condition of the roads. The reference in the third clause to the 'Seventh Chapter' appears to point to that chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.

* Lovanio 23 Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

EPISTLE 787. Farrago, p. 46 ; Epist. iv. 1 ; C. 238 (247).

Erasmus to Colet.

Best of Patrons, I have already sent you by Francis my thanks for your service to me, and have delivered to him the bill, by which I acknowledge my satisfaction about the King's money.

I am preparing for a journey, which will be a most dangerous one on account of the late release of those most villainous robbers, who, collected in some thousands, were attacking at their own good pleasure any one they chose. This is the cruel clemency of Princes, sparing impious murderers and sacrilegious thieves, and not sparing their honest subjects. The instruments by which they oppress their people are dearer to them than the people themselves !

I wish you had added two words to explain, how it was I did not satisfy you in the Seventh Chapter.* Perhaps it was because I referred to the affections, and you preferred the reference to be made to the Mosaic Law. But in that passage Paul is so difficult to catch,—looking, as he does, now this way and now that,—that Origen is very much put to it in his explanations.† You promise to write on another occasion, but that other occasion will be late. My work being now finished, I intend to fly to you for good and all, especially if some fair fortune shall be prepared for us. I do beseech you to continue your efforts that this may be the case. Farewell.

Louvain, 23 April, [1518].‡

* See the comment in the closing words of the last page.

† ut in his explicandis magnopere sudet Origenes.

‡ 9 Calen. Maias. Louanij. *Farrago*.

The two following Epistles do not form part of the parcel of letters addressed to England (pp. 344 to 356), but their date places them here. Another letter for England (Epistle 790) follows, which is dated the next day.

Hermann Busch, the correspondent addressed in Epistle 788, has been mentioned in a previous volume among the young men of learning, who rivalled each other in welcoming Erasmus to Germany. See vol. ii. p. 385, 387. It appears from the following letters, that both Count Hermann of Nuenar and Gerard Listrius were entering into controversies, which Erasmus thought inexpedient.

EPISTLE 788. Farrago, p. 47 ; Ep. iv. 2 ; C. 316 (311).

Erasmus to Hermann Busch.

I am more sorry than could be believed, to hear how dissension is spreading among you every day, while I wonder at theologians and professors of a most holy religion not being ashamed to encourage such disturbances, of which it is impossible to say what may be the issue. Can anything be more silly, more disagreeable, more unlearned, more virulent, than those *Lamentations*.* For my own part, I should have wished the most illustrious Count Hermann of Nuenar or New Eagle, to keep his claws off such portents, out of which nothing can be got but plague and poison. The man who does battle against a Dominican has to reckon with whole populations.

I am vexed, that Listrius should have done so foolish a thing, if the tale you tell be true ; and I shall write to chide

* The work referred to is probably a book or pamphlet entitled *Lamentationes Petri*, which is mentioned in an epistle of Erasmus to Paulus Bombasius, bearing date 13 September, 1521, as one, of which the authorship had been attributed to the writer, but of which he had not even heard the title before its publication. C. 665 F. The words that follow above appear to point to the Count of Nuenar having written an answer to the *Lamentations*.

the man, although my remonstrance will come late, if the book is already published.* Farewell.

Louvain 23 April, 1518.†

The following Epistle, addressed to Gerard Listrius, has no date of day, but may not improbably have been written on the day after Epistle 788, in which Erasmus proposes to write without delay to this correspondent; another letter, which has not survived, having been already written to him on the preceding day. See the first words of this Epistle. On the second of November, 1517,—the date of Epistle 670,—Listrius appears to have been at Zwolle, where Erasmus advised him to remain for the time, and these later letters were probably addressed to that place.

EPISTLE 789. C. 1693 (310).

Erasmus to Listrius.

I wrote yesterday by a Canon, who was doubly a Canon, but a Black one; and I now write again by Goswin. If the *Invective against Mormellius*‡ has not yet been published, I do advise and entreat you to suppress it, as Busch is threatening some counter-charge; and I do not want this gratification to be offered to those wicked enemies of good studies.

It is not yet certain, by which route I am to make my incursion into Germany; for I do wish to revisit Basel, if it can be done.

I have not seen your friend Hermann yet. Naef is indignant at Goswin having put the boy, that was by letter

* The book or pamphlet, which Listrius was to be advised not to publish, was apparently an "*Invective against Mormellius*." See the following letter.

† Lovanij. 9 Calen. Maias. Anno domini M. D. XVIII. *Farrago*. Lovanio 23. Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

‡ In *Mormellium Invectiva*. See the last letter, Epistle 788, and the note above. I do not find that anything further is known of Mormellius.

commended to him, into the charge of Dorpius, their relations being not very friendly; and indeed Dorpius's conduct has been wanting in politeness, if not in fairness.*

Next winter, Christ willing, I shall see you again.

Louvain [24 April], 1518.†

It appears from the following letter, that Tunstall,—we may suppose by Erasmus's invitation,—had sent him some criticisms upon his Translation of the New Testament, where the word *hyemabo* (I shall winter) is found (1 Cor. xvi. 6), and the words, *Moses exaltavit serpentem* (Moses lifted up the serpent), in the Gospel of St. John (iii. 14), both expressions being adopted from the Vulgate.

EPISTLE 790. C. 1679 (282).

Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall.

Everything else disregarded, my mind is now set upon one object,—that the New Testament may come out, as soon as possible, such as we wish it, and that approved by the authority of Leo, *rumpantur ut ilia Codris*.‡

I wonder at your finding fault with *hyemare*, which is found in Cæsar in various passages, among others at the beginning of the third Book.§ *Exaltare* we find in Columella.||

That old friend maintains his old fashion.¶ The bill gave

* et profecto parum civiliter factum a Dorpio, nedum dolo.

† Lovanio, Anno 1518. C.

‡ It will be remembered that in the Seventh Eclogue of Virgil, in which two rival shepherds compete in singing, Corydon desires to sing like his friend Codrus, while Thyrsis hopes by his own performance to make Codrus himself burst with envy (*rumpantur ut ilia Codro*).

§ Huic permisit . . . uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, iii. 1.

|| fodiunt (sulcos) et exaltant in tres pedes (make them three feet deep). Columella, *De Re Rustica*.

¶ That old friend appears to be the broker, with whom Erasmus exchanges his bill.

me no information at all, as I did not understand a word of it. I have taken another bill * in exchange for mine, on account of the thieves that are everywhere roaming about ; and the business has been conducted between us in good faith. But I do not quite understand what they have written, except that I read : ducati trenta di valore di xxx. grossi.

I am preparing to start at any hour ; but do not quite see how I am to find my way into Germany. That atrocious rabble of 'black soldiers' has been lately released by the cruel clemency of our Princes. They were held in siege with no means of escape, and nothing was more ardently desired by the peasants than their entire destruction, as they deserved more than one death ! About a thousand of them were killed, and that upon an uncertain cry raised by some individual. If it had not been for that, it was the intention of the Princes to let that wicked and impious band loose at our heads. And so the slaughter was stopped ; those that were left being allowed to go, after surrendering their arms ; and the peasants or citizens not being permitted to put them to death wherever they might be found. Only look how ill the public interest has been considered ! The immunity of those ruffians is ascribed to one or two princes, who are going in this way to take vengeance on the public for the defaults of some of their own subjects ; and now we are hearing everywhere of the murder of travellers. This was our policy, not to pardon the whole band, but to irritate against the public a set of thieves ready and willing for every crime !

Wherever I betake myself, I will let you know the locality. We have here Julius Calvus, a bookseller from Ticino, an amusing and learned man. He has brought me *Theocritus* with a commentary in a printed book, and *Pindar* with a commentary by several writers. He has also handed me

* Paper, not coin, on account of the danger of robbers on his journey.

some very ancient fragments of *Fronto*, *Varro*, and other authors, which I will send you by my John. If we are to be allowed to keep it (for with all my vigilance I have not heard that for certain), the book is yours.

I should deplore the fortune of More in being enticed into a Court, if it were not that under such a King,* and with so many learned men for companions and colleagues, it may seem not a Court, but a temple of the Muses. But meantime there is nothing brought us from Utopia, to amuse us ; and he, I am quite sure, would rather have his laugh, than be borne aloft on a curule chair.†

In my last letter to Budé I gave him your excuse for not writing.

I am sending my John back to England,‡ because I think he has not such a *natural aptitude for learning* as to obtain promotion by that means ; and his mamma § does not think her son quite safe unless he is there. As he is to be transferred to More's household, he does not seem to be altogether parted from me. His character is as sound as can be, and I should therefore wish you also to take an interest in him, in case you see any occasion to save him from the influence of bad company. Farewell.

Louvain, 24 April, 1518.||

* It is interesting to observe, what character Erasmus, and we may presume his English friends, were disposed at this time to attribute to King Henry VIII. —

† *quam curuli sublimis vehi*. To be chaired like a Roman Prætor or Consul.

‡ John Smith, Erasmus's pupil servant, appears to have entered his service at Cambridge in October, 1511, his father, Robert Smith, being a burgess of that town. Vol. ii. pp. 6, 92. In April, 1517, Beatus Rhenanus had sent a greeting to him in a letter to Erasmus. Vol. ii. p. 549. His intended return to England has been mentioned in Epistle 779, p. 342.

§ *matricula*.

|| Lovanio 24. Aprilis, Anno Domini 1518. C.

In writing a letter to Jean Grolier, the great French collector of books, Erasmus appears to take pleasure in constructing the most elaborate sentences, as suitable to so learned and distinguished a correspondent. A small part only of this Epistle, by way of specimen, is translated below. Its date, at a time when the writer was so much occupied with his own business correspondence, may seem unlikely; but the presence at Louvain of Calvus, the Italian book-seller, by whom a letter to Grolier was suggested (see p. 363), is confirmed by the Epistle to Tunstall of the same date. See pp. 360, 365. Part of Lombardy being then in the occupation of the French, Grolier had been appointed by the victorious authority to be Prefect of Insubria (now the Milanese), where it appears to have been part of his duty to act as Quæstor and collect the Government dues. See pp. 363, 389.

EPISTLE 791. Auctarium, p. 156; Ep. iii. 17; C. 316 (312).

Erasmus to John Grolier.

Ready as I always am, most illustrious Grolier, to embrace with the greatest avidity the friendship of eminent persons like yourself, whether spontaneously offered or by some fortunate accident placed within my reach, and delighted as I am to retain it, when once embraced, with the greatest pertinacity, it is not at all my habit to thrust myself upon any one's familiarity, being naturally so averse to every kind of ambition, that I cannot canvass* even for that which I think the one thing in human life most worthy of canvass, if there is anything which can be so described. For indeed what possession can a man have, more honourable, more secure, or more delightful, than sincere and genuine friends? Other persons may measure their felicity by the produce of their lands, or by their yearly income, while in my own opinion I seem more wealthy than Cræsus himself, possessed as I am, in various parts of the world, of so many friends, respected for their integrity, famous for their learning or

* The word *ambition* is derived from the Latin *ambire*, to canvass.

dignified by their rank. While the Powers above are so propitious as to keep them mine, I cannot but deem myself to be rich and fortunate, however much others may scorn the tenuity of my possessions ; and if a new friend be added to my list, I regard it as a most profitable transaction, by which my wealth has been notably increased. With William Budé, who had been for some time among my acquaintance, I am now coupled by the closest and holiest bond of friendship ; and he again has brought with him two most distinguished persons, Deloin and Ruzé, into our joint alliance. May all the Muses be my foes, if I am not more pleased with this accession of friends, than if the King Catholic had made me richer by a bishopric !

While my inclination is such as I have described, I still cannot canvass for the one thing which in my heart I desire. But even this impregnable shyness of my character has been overcome by the pertinacity,—or by the eloquence,—of Julius Calvus, who has indeed so insisted on my challenging Grolier with a letter, that, whether I would or not, he has forced me to do his will. Indeed with such rare eloquence has he proclaimed your surpassing good qualities, that I am ready not only to follow his lead, but almost to run before him.

* * * * *

I deem it the fairest proof of your merit, that the most Christian King, being aware of that integrity and wisdom, which is united in you with no common erudition, chose you at so young an age for so important a charge. But it is still more to your credit, that you have made the office of Collector,†—invidious as it is in itself,—an occasion for applause and gratitude, by the equity and sweetness of your character, having been for some time so employed in it, that your Prince's glory, lately won by arms, is doubled by your

† Quæstoris munus. See the last observation prefixed to this Epistle.

means; your administration being so conducted, that an Italian may comprehend, that there are Frenchmen who can be obeyed without disgrace,—who may indeed be willingly obeyed by those who have learned to listen to no other commands but those of Virtue. * * *

Things of no special worth in themselves may perchance be recommended by the genius of eloquent men, as the little light derived from a star may be increased by bringing in a lantern; while the sun outshines itself, and throws every other light that is brought near it, into shade. We authors do ourselves a good turn, when we commend our lucubrations to the attraction of a name like yours. It is not you that are a debtor to books, but books are indebted to you, when by your means they will have a lasting commendation to posterity. However much the aid of Letters may be needed to secure for Merit an immortal name, in your case there was no need to seek elsewhere what was to be found at home, in one whose intimate relation with men of letters is such, that among them he is himself the most lettered of them all. * * *

It is not for every man to mould an image of Jupiter. But as I was beginning almost to despond, Calvus restored my courage,—magnifying by every rhetorical artifice, in the first place your incredible kindness for all students, and then your special and peculiar regard for my genius and for my books, such as they may be. And when by a solemn oath he had made me believe his story, this most impetuous man began to urge me, to challenge you by even a short letter; while I thought myself, that anything would be better than that I should run the risk of appearing to have inaugurated a correspondence with so matchless a friend by a negligent or extemporized epistle. For indeed what else at that time could I do, tired as I was by my journey in Flanders, and within the German frontier so busy, that the preparations for travelling seemed more laborious to

me than the journey itself? Such a proceeding appeared to involve not only an insult to you, but a risk to my own credit. Convincing as my arguments were, Calvus did not cease to insist on his advice, while he offered to take all the risk of the proceeding upon himself, if anything should turn out amiss; though he made sure that there was no risk at all, trusting as he did to the kindness of Grolier, of which he had had ample experience. What was the result, you ask. He pushed the cart in the right direction, as the old Proverb has it.* I suppressed my blushes, and upon Calvus' authority have ventured on this bold proceeding. If my address should be successful,—if you will deign to number Erasmus among your clients, I shall endeavour to exert every nerve of my humble genius, and try every vein, in the hope that some work may be modelled, perhaps on a larger scale, which may be worthy of the great Grolier. The study of you will perchance furnish that which Nature had denied to the author; what our Genius does not possess, your accomplishments will supply.

If our boldness gives offence, you must cast all the blame of our temerity upon Calvus: I am guilty only of having trusted the statements of a most eloquent person, and yielded to the pressure of one who does not know what it is to be defeated.

I have only to add, that I have no objection to your finding what fault you please with this epistle, provided you accept with approval that feeling for you, which is here in some sort expressed, and which I hope to testify on another occasion by more abundant evidence.

Farewell, most illustrious and most learned Sir.

Louvain, 24 April, 1518.†

* Bene plastrum perculit. *He pushed the cart aright.* It is, says Erasmus, a country proverb, spoken of those who influence any person in the direction to which he is already inclined. *Adagia*, Chil. I. cent. vi. prov. 13.

† Lovanio, 24. Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

The last clause of the above letter was no doubt meant by the author as a promise, that, if his correspondent, an illustrious and wealthy patron of literature, was disposed to assist the writer in the way which would be most useful to him, he would accept such help as a welcome favour, demanding at his hands the fullest literary recognition. I do not think that there is any evidence, whether Erasmus received any answer to this overture. We may suspect that his correspondent was silent. Grolier, who appears to have been some twenty years younger than Erasmus, lived to be an old man, and died at Paris in October, 1565. His library is said to have been sold and dispersed in 1675.*

We have seen in our former volumes, that Roger Wentford, the Master of St. Antony's School in London, was among Erasmus's useful friends in that city. Vol. i. p. 413; vol. ii. pp. 26, 32, 89. By the following note it appears, that Wentford was now assisting in preparing for the Press an edition of the Colloquies. The first edition of this work published in England, of which I have found mention, is said to have been printed in London by Wynandus (or Wynkin) de Worde, with the date, Idibus Augusti, 1519.† It appears from the following letter, that Wentford had been proposing to omit from the new edition one of the principal dialogues, which the author specially wished to be retained in it.

EPISTLE 792. C. 1605 (135).

Erasmus to Roger Wentford. ‡

I am thankful that you have blotted nothing out of your sheets. In suppressing the chief dialogue,§ you appear to be jealous of your own glory, as I was preparing to publish this little book,—such as it is,—with your name

* Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, s.v. Grolier.

† Bibliotheca Erasmiana, Ghent, 1893, p. 35.

‡ Erasmus Rogerio suo. C.

§ Quod præcipuum dialogum suppresseris. C. See observation above.

attached to it.* I was much pleased with your letter, short as it was. Go on as you have begun ; and farewell.

Louvain, 24 April [1518].†

We have seen in Epistle 774, that King Henry VIII. had sent, probably through More and by his suggestion, a present of money to Erasmus, which was accompanied by an invitation to settle in England, where he might expect an adequate provision to be made for him by means of Church preferment. See before, p. 342.

EPISTLE 793. Auctarium, p. 155 ; Ep. iii. 16 ; C. 319 (313).

Erasmus to King Henry VIII.

Health and Immortality, most Serene King ! Your Highness's present was in many ways most welcome to me. It was great in itself, and it came from a king ; and what was more, it came from that King, who is no less distinguished by his regard for the noblest things than for the wealth of his realm ; and the approval of whose judgment is a higher distinction than it is to be gilded by his munificence. And yet it was on another account, that it gave me most pleasure ; as it might be regarded as a pledge of the continuance of that favourable vote, with which your Majesty has often, no less kindly than honourably, distinguished Erasmus. And as if this did not satisfy your own feeling in favour of Literature, you spontaneously offer a settled fortune, and that of no small amount. This I do not for my part decline, as I might well be glad to take service with no pay at all under a Sovereign, by whom the greatest favour and the highest authority are accorded to those who most excel in learning

* nam tuo nomine parabam hoc quidquid est libelli edere. C.

† Lovanio 24 Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

and integrity of life; and whose Court is becoming an example of Christian discipline, and is so distinguished by men of learning that it is the envy of every University.

I pray the Almighty, that He may be pleased to make this resolution of yours perpetual, that He may long preserve you to your subjects in health and safety, and that your realm may for many a year remain strong and flourishing under the best and most prosperous of Princes.

We are compelled to spend four months at Basel for the editing of the volumes of the New Testament. When that work is completed, we shall dedicate ourselves wholly to your Majesty's service.

Louvain, 25 April, 1518.*

The following Epistle, which is without date of day in the printed copy, may probably have been sent to Calais with other letters of the latter days of April, 1518, which were intended for England, and probably forwarded to their destinations by More. Of the first clause the meaning is not easily caught in the absence of further information. From the second we may infer, that Erasmus was disappointed, because among the contributions which he had received from his English patrons, he had had no present from Mountjoy, or not so liberal a present as he expected. Compare vol. i. p. 274. In reading the latter part of this clause, it is impossible not to feel a touch of sadness, when we look with Erasmus's eyes at More's self-sacrifice in accepting service at Court, and think of the reward which he earned from the 'excellent Prince,' to whom the sacrifice was made.

EPISTLE 794. C. 1693 (311).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

What need was there, my More, that you should despoil

* Lovanio, 25 Aprilis, Anno 1518. C.

the naked, and load still more one already laden? * John did bring a horse, but ruined him on the journey!

I am surprised at the coldness of my oldest Mæcenas, Mountjoy; but I think that his wife and son add something to a natural failing. As to your being attracted to the Court, there is one thing that consoles me; you will be taking service under an excellent Prince. But there is no doubt that you will be carried away from us and from Literature.

I am undertaking the most dangerous of journeys, cursing, as I go, the stupidity of the Theologians, who have driven me to it. It is only natural, that the soldiers, who have been disbanded by our Captains without any provision, should be ready to rob all the persons they can.

A new act of clemency! Those wicked marauders were so surrounded, that none could escape. But the Duke of Cleves, the Duke of Jülich, and the Duke of Nassau were arranging, that they should be let go unhurt; and if it had not been for the accidental sounding of a trumpet,—by whose order is not known,—not one would have lost his life. But upon that sound more than a thousand were put to the sword. Only the Bishop of Cologne, observing first that he was a priest, has made answer, that if the matter should depend upon his decision, he will so treat them, that they shall not be capable of doing anything like it again! This the people understand, and bear it they must.

My John has been telling me, that you have engaged to take him into your own household.† If that be true, I am glad to hear it, as his mamma ‡ does not think her son safe, unless he is in England. He has made some sort of progress in learning, though he has no natural talent for it, but nothing is more straightforward or more friendly than

* *Ut nudum spoliare, et onustum magis etiam onerare.*

† As to Erasmus's English servant, John Smith, who was to be taken by More into his own service, see pp. 247, 288, 342, 361.

‡ *matercula.*

his character. I know you will keep him as far as you can out of bad company, and will not object to take upon yourself some part of my responsibility with regard to him.

Dr. Linacre's lucubrations have not made their appearance in this country,—I know not by what conspiracy of the French against us !

The bearer of this, Thomas Grey,* who, somewhat to my inconvenience, is very much attached to me, wants to buy back from your friend Colet some land which belonged to his ancestors. If you cannot act for him in this matter, at any rate advise what you think it best for him to do.

When you receive the new edition of the Adages, read the Proverb, *Cum Bitho Bacchius*, and also, *Ut fici oculis inhærentes*.

Louvain, [25 April], 1518.†

In the Adages (Chil. II. Cent. v. Proverb 97, *Bithus contra Bacchium*) Erasmus quotes the expression of Horace (Sat. I. vii. 20),
 uti non

Compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius,

and explains it, as being said of two well-matched gladiators, observing further, that the name of gladiator conveyed the idea of contention and obstinacy. It is not easy to see, as the text now stands, what was the object of Erasmus in directing by the above letter More's attention to this proverb. The other Adage, Chil. II. Cent. viii. Proverb 65, reads in the Greek original, "Ὡς περ τὰ σῦκ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔφυ, and is translated at the head of the section in Erasmus's book, *Ut fici oculis incumbunt*, or *Quemadmodum fici oculis innati*, "Like figs that grow in the eyes." This so-called Adage, in the received edition of Erasmus's book, supplies the text for a long dissertation of a political character, in which the words relating to a tumour in the

* Hic Thomas Greius. It appears that this parcel of letters (see pp. 344, 345) was taken to England by Thomas Grey, who had been Erasmus's pupil at Paris more than twenty years before. See our vol. i. p. 115, vol. ii. p. 312.

† *Lovanio*, Anno 1518. For date of day, see the observation at the foot of p. 344. C.

eye, which could not be removed without destroying the sight, are applied, first, to a class of statesmen, who do their best to corrupt a young prince and so to rule in his name, and then, to a section of the Mendicant Friars, who, in the opinion of Erasmus, were as mischievous to the Church, in which they had established themselves, as the so-called *ficus* to the human eye.

We have seen in Epistle 683 (p. 141), that Erasmus's lately published Paraphrase upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was prefaced by a dedication, dated 13 November, 1517, to the Cardinal Domenico Grimani, with whom the author, during his visit to Rome in the springtime of 1509, had had at the Palazzo di Venezia an interview, described in a letter from which an extract has been given in a former volume. See vol. i. p. 461. It appears by the following epistle, that, although in words dedicated to him in November, the volume itself had not yet, in the following April, been sent to the Cardinal.

EPISTLE 795. Auctarium, p. 150; Ep. iii. 11; C. 320 (315).

Erasmus to Cardinal Grimani.

The Paraphrase upon Paul's Epistle to the Romans, dedicated to your name, has been now for some time in the hands of readers, and has been received favourably enough by all the companies of the learned; a success which, if I am not mistaken, is due rather to your protecting genius than to the book itself. I have not hitherto sent you the volume, whether it has been that I was not quite pleased myself with the first edition, or because I am aware, that a parcel of any weight is not easily sent on so long a journey. But I have now determined to risk the despatch of this book, which has been printed elegantly enough by the Basel press, in case the little work should not hitherto have come to your hands. If I find, that it has been welcomed and even approved by the judgment of so great a person, we shall presently undertake a similar comment upon the other Epistles, a work to which I am urged by the demands of students from every quarter.

I am told, that your Eminence deigned to acknowledge by letter the volume of the New Testament, which I sent you, moist from the Press, by some traveller from Basel. But your letter, despatched nearly two years ago, I have not yet been privileged to see,—whether owing to some treachery or to my own ill-luck. There was a letter of the Cardinal of St. George, which, after being sent by means of Ammonius to Germany, went so far astray that I have never been able to trace what became of it; and yours has been lost with Ammonius himself.*

I bid your Eminence farewell; to whom, as my best patron, I commend myself and my studies. I will write more fully soon, when I have a more certain messenger.

Louvain, the morrow of St. Mark (26 April), 1518.†

In the following letter Erasmus is still busy with the choice of professors for Busleiden's college at Louvain. The office of Greek Professor was still to be filled,—and it is of some interest to observe that this language was so far treated as a living tongue, that a native Greek was preferred, in order that he might teach his Flemish or German pupils the Greek pronunciation. It may be remembered, that in the autumn of 1508 John, or Janus, Lascaris, a Greek by birth, and a good Latin scholar, was one of those who assisted Erasmus in compiling the first edition of the *Adages*. See our vol. i. pp. 440, 449. The printed address of this letter is *Ioanni Lascari Constantino-politano*. Lascaris appears to have been at this time at Paris.

EPISTLE 796. *Auctarium*, p. 151; Ep. iii. 12; C. 319 (314).

Erasmus to John Lascaris.

Most illustrious Sir, Jerome Busleiden, a learned and influential man, and an incomparable ornament of this

* Both these lost letters appear to have been sent to Ammonius, as an intimate of Erasmus, in order to procure their delivery to the latter.

† Lovanii, postridie divi Marci, Anno M.D.XVIII.

kingdom, having died in his journey to Spain, has bequeathed several thousand ducats to found at Louvain,—where is now a most flourishing University,—a new College, in which the three tongues, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, are to be publicly and gratuitously taught, with a handsome salary of about seventy ducats for the Professor, which may be augmented having regard to his personality. The Hebrew professor is already on the spot, and the Latin professor too. For the Greek chair there are several candidates; but my advice has always been, that a Greek by birth should be sent for, so that the pupils may at once imbibe the genuine pronunciation of the language. My opinion has been approved by all those who are taking part in the business, and they have given me authority to send,—in their names,—for any person whom I might judge to be fit for the work. I beg you therefore, for the sake of your usual kindness to me, or of your interest in Good Letters, if you know any one, who you think would do credit to your recommendation and mine, to get him to fly hither as soon as possible. The cost of his journey will be found for him; a salary and also a lodging will be provided. He will have the most honourable and most courteous persons to deal with, and he may trust this letter of mine as well as if the matter were transacted by means of a hundred indentures; between honest men there is no need of signing and sealing. Do take care and find me a suitable man, and I will take care, that he shall not regret his coming hither.

Louvain, the morrow of St. Mark (26 April), 1518.*

We have seen, that in a former letter, dated on the 17th of April (Epistle 771), Erasmus had explained to the Bishop of Utrecht's Chaplain, how it was that he had omitted to call upon the Bishop. The following note, addressed to the same person and referring to the same subject, shows the anxiety of the writer to retain the good will of his native Prelate. See before, pp. 88-90 of this volume.

* Lovanii, postridie divi Marci, Anno M.D.XVIII.

EPISTLE 797. C. 1680 (283).

Erasmus to Gerard of Nimeguen.

I do beg you over and over again to make my lord understand, that it was owing to a mistake, that I did not call upon him ; so that he may not suspect me of having avoided an interview with him, of which I was in fact very desirous. It was for this object, that I had written the letter which was delivered to you by my servant John, in the hope that you would report its substance to my lord ; for I thought I had put it in such a way, as to ward off the blame from myself without throwing it in a disagreeable way upon you.

We are preparing with no little trouble for our journey,— I do not yet know whither, but in any case we are preparing.* And you, my Gerard, pray continue to be like yourself.

Louvain, 26 April, 1518.†

The following letter of Erasmus, addressed to Cornelius Batt, the son of Erasmus's old friend, James Batt (see vol. i. p. 176, ii. p. 546), was published in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, 1519, with the date, Tertio Calend. Maias. To this date the words, Anno MDXVII, are added in the later *Opus Epistolarum*, but the journey in immediate prospect, mentioned in the letter, points to 1518.

EPISTLE 798. *Farrago*, p. 190 ; Ep. vii. 25 ; C. 238 (244).*Erasmus to Cornelius Batt.*

Very dear Son, I welcome with pleasure your affection for me, and will do my best to assure you, that neither the

* *adornamus iter, nondum scio quo, sed omnino adornamus.* In this, as in some earlier letters, Erasmus describes his destination as uncertain, but in the following letter, Epistle 798, he speaks confidently of Basel.

† Lovanio 26. Aprilis, An. 1518. C.

memory nor the love of my lost friend has faded from my mind ; while you must take pains to respond in accomplishments and in character to an excellent and learned father.

I am going now to Basel, for so the occasion demands. If you find your circumstances tolerable where you are, stay on till my return ; for I shall come back, if it please Christ, in October. If not, obtain an interview at Louvain with John of Hontescote, the master of the Lilian School, and after taking his advice go on to Bruges to see Marcus Laurinus, the Coadjutor, as it is now called, of the Dean of St. Donatian, to whom I will write about you to-day. Be sure and give my salutation to the most kind and courteous Father Goswin.

I advise you to give your attention to the study of Greek, and to the perusal of good authors. You will receive enclosed in this letter a gold noble of Flanders, as some sort of pledge, for the moment, of my good will.

Louvain, 29 April, [1518].*

The letter to Marcus Laurinus of Bruges, promised in the Epistle translated above, follows in *Farrago* with the same date.

EPISTLE 799. *Farrago*, p. 191 ; Ep. vii. 27 ; C. 238 (245).

Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus.

Cornelius Batt, the son of my old and most attached friend, has written to me. The young man has a good tongue, and is learned enough, but has something amiss with his foot.† He is seized with a longing for this part of the world, being at present undermaster in a school at Groningen. If by any chance he comes to you, consider

* Louanij Tertio Calendas Maias. *Farrago*. For year, see last page.

† *sed loripes*, literally thong-footed. It does not seem quite clear, what infirmity is so described.

whether you can be of any service to him,—and if not, send him back to Louvain; but do not take any step on my account, which may be contrary to your own judgment.

Farewell. I will write on another occasion more copiously.
Louvain, 29 April [1518].*

On the same day Erasmus wrote a short note to Antony Clava of Ghent, at whose table he appears to have been a recent guest, Robert Cæsar being still, as in the previous year, an intimate at Clava's house. See vol. ii. p. 492. The copy of Herodotus, which Erasmus presented to his correspondent, was, no doubt, the first printed edition of that author, produced by Aldus at Venice in 1502.

EPISTLE 800. Farrago, p. 191; Epist. vii. 26; C. 238 (246).

Erasmus to Antony Clava.

I think that not long ago you were wanting *Herodotus* in the Greek. I now make you a present of him, as I shall easily find another copy in the journey that is before me.

Good-bye. I find it hard to send any salutation to Robert Cæsar, who deserted us so haughtily at supper the other day!

Louvain, 29 April, [1518].†

The journey to Basel, which followed the letters last translated, occupied the next fortnight, and was completed on Ascension-day, 13 May, 1518. See Chapter LII., p. 393, in which the sequence of Epistles is continued with Epistle 801, addressed by Erasmus to Barbier, and dated at Basel, 31 May, 1518.

* Lovanij. Tertio Calen. Maias. *Farrago.*

† Lovanij. Tertio Calen. Maias. *Farrago.*

CHAPTER LI.

Four Epistles of Erasmus written at Antwerp in the year 1517, and not included in previous Chapters. Epistle to Cardinal Wolsey, 18 May; to Ulrich von Hutten, with written portrait of More, 23 July; to Nicolas Béraud, 9 August; to William Hue of the same date. Epistles 563B, 587B, 593B, 593C.

Before proceeding with the correspondence of Erasmus bearing date after his journey to Basel, begun on the 29th or 30th of April, and ended on Ascension-day, 13 May, 1518 (see the closing words of Chapter L.), it is proposed in the present Chapter to call the attention of the Reader to some Epistles of the previous year, which have not yet found their place in our pages. The first of these is a lengthy and oratorical letter, addressed by Erasmus to Cardinal Wolsey,* which was included in the collection entitled *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, published in August, 1521. As printed in that work, this Epistle bears date at Antwerp the fifteenth of the Calends of June (18 May) without year, to which in the London edition, followed by Le Clerc, we have the added year-date, 1518. It seems, however, to be clear, that on the 18th of May, 1518, Erasmus was at Basel, where he had arrived on Ascension-day, five days before. See p. 376. But at the same date in the preceding year, 1517, he appears to have been staying for some days at Antwerp, while his portrait was painted with

* Reverendissimo Domino Thomæ Cardinali et Episcopo Eboracensi. Wolsey's translation from Lincoln to York took place, 5 August, 1514 (Nicolas, *Synopsis*, 896); his Cardinal's Hat, having arrived in England towards the end of November, 1515, was brought in triumph to the Court by some gentlemen of Kent, and received by him in the Abbey of Westminster Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. lvii.b.

that of Peter Gillis by Quentin Matsys (see our volume ii. pp. 552, 559); and to this period of leisure we may well ascribe the long letter addressed to Wolsey, and dated from that city on the 18th of May. In this Epistle Erasmus took the opportunity of explaining to his correspondent, and by its publication, to others, the relation in which he himself stood to some of the leaders of opinion in Germany, especially to Hutten, Reuchlin, and Luther. And it is of some interest to observe, that in writing to Wolsey, who owed his rank as Cardinal (pp. 384, 385) to Pope Julius II., Erasmus thought it well to disclaim the authorship of the *Julius Exclusus*,—an anonymous work, which nevertheless appears beyond doubt to have been due to his pen.*

EPISTLE 563B. Epist. ad Diversos, p. 438 ; Epist. xi. 1 ;
C. 321 (317).

Erasmus to Cardinal Wolsey.

Most Reverend Lord, not the least illustrious of the august Order of Cardinals, my not having as yet revisited the Mæcenates that I have in Britain, high in rank and indeed not few in number, has been occasioned by the burden of my studies, by which I am almost overwhelmed,—weight being heaped on weight, as wave climbs over wave,—to use the phrase of Naso.† And yet meantime it is my health that has been most in fault, which is still too delicate for me to venture to trust myself to a sea voyage. I may add, that my not having even by letter made my bow to your Eminence has been partly due to my being ashamed of intruding with my tattle upon one whose attention is occupied with weighty

* *Julius cælis exclusus*, Pope Julius shut out of Heaven. See pp. 384, 385. As to this authorship, which was no secret to More or to Lupset, see our vol. ii. pp. 446 to 449, and in this volume, Epistle 804.

† *velut unda supervenit undam*, ut Nasonis utar verbis. The phrase is borrowed from Horace (Epist. ii. 2, 176); and the reference to Ovid appears to be due to an oversight of the author, or a misreading of the printer.

concerns both of Church and Kingdom ; and partly to your own greatness, which is addressed with reverence even by the greatest men. But while the persons, who pass from that side of the Channel to this, have reported, with wonderful unanimity, with what zeal and with what success your wisdom and patriotism are striving to convert your country's image from brass into gold, I could not restrain myself from congratulating you upon the possession of those qualities, and *our* Britain upon possessing you. I now hear it further proclaimed, that by your means, among so many of the principal rulers of the world, a long desired Peace has been knit together with the closest ties, while Pope Leo, most desirous as he was of peace, was treating only for a five years truce.

By your means all Britain is cleared of robbers and of vagabonds, so that it is now as free from noxious men, as it is from poison and wild beasts. By your authority the perplexities of litigation are no less effectually untied than was the Gordian knot by the Great Alexander ; the differences of noblemen are arranged ; the monasteries are restored to their ancient discipline ; and the clergy recalled to a more approved manner of life. Polite Letters, which were struggling against the patrons of ancient ignorance, are supported by your favour, defended by your authority and fostered by your liberality, the most learned Professors being by ample salaries invited to your aid. In the purchase of libraries, rich with every good author, you vie with Ptolemy Philadelphus himself, more renowned for this possession than for his kingdom. The Three Tongues, without which Learning is incomplete, are recalled at your command ; for by the benefaction, which is now conferred upon the famous School of Oxford, I judge all Britain to be obliged ;* and indeed I trust, that this brilliant example will

* Wolsey's earlier benefaction to Oxford is forgotten. The foundation of Christ Church belongs to a later date, 1525.

before long awaken the minds of our Princes also. I see, I see a truly golden age arising, if that temper of yours shall prevail with some proportion of our sovereigns ! These most holy efforts will receive a due reward from Him, under whose auspices they are made ; neither will posterity be ungrateful, when in a distant age that generous heart, born for the benefit of humanity, will still be celebrated alike by Latin and Greek eloquence.

For myself, rejoicing, as I do, in the general felicity, I am not sorry that my own name is cast into the shade by more recent lights, when I see those around me, compared with whom I appear no wiser than a child. Enough for me to claim this praise, if indeed I can fairly do so,—to be described as one of those, who have done their best to drive out of this part of the world that barbarous ignorance of languages, with which Italy was wont to reproach us. How far I have been successful in this, I know not ; that I have striven to do so I know, and striven not without some of that jealousy, which accompanies and pursues exceptional efforts, as the shadow follows the light. But the majority is now more kind ; only a few still hold out, too old to hope, too stupid to learn, or too arrogant to wish to know better !

These people see only too plainly, that their own authority will fall to the ground, if we have the Sacred Books accessible in an amended form, and seek their meaning at the fountain-head. And so high a value do they set upon their own importance, that they had rather have many things unknown, many things mis-read and cited amiss from the Divine Books, than appear to be ignorant themselves of any point. But inasmuch as they are conscious of their own inferiority in argument, and aware that, if they deal with books, they do nothing but betray their own ignorance and folly, making themselves a laughing-stock to the learned, they have given up open fighting, and have recourse to stratagems, loading with their slanders literature and its

defenders, and me above all, whom they judge to have had some influence in the revival of these studies. Whatever writing of an invidious nature may be published, they fasten it upon Erasmus ; and here you will detect the very Genius of Calumny at work, when the cause of Good Letters is mixed up with the affairs of Reuchlin or of Luther, whereas they have no proper connection with each other.

For my own part, I never had any fancy for the Cabala or the Thalmud ; and as for Reuchlin himself, I have only once met him at Frankfort, when nothing passed between us, except such friendly civilities as are usual between scholars. Not that I am ashamed to have joined in friendly correspondence with him ; he has a letter of mine, in which, before I knew him by sight, I advised him to abstain from those plain terms of abuse of his opponents in which after the German fashion he indulges in his Apology ;* so far is it from the truth, that I have ever encouraged writings affecting any one's good name !

Luther is no more known to me than to any stranger he might meet ; and as for the man's books, I have not had time to turn over more than one or two pages. And yet it is pretended,—so I am told,—that he has had my help in his work ! If he has written aright, no credit is due to me ; and if the reverse, I deserve no blame, seeing that in all his lucubrations not a tittle is mine. Any one who cares to investigate the matter, will find this to be quite true. The man's life is by a wide and general consent approved ; and it is no small presumption in his favour, that his moral character is such, that even his foes can find no fault with it. If I had had ample leisure to read his works, I do not claim so much authority, as to pass judgment upon the writings of so important a person ; although in these days you find boys everywhere pronouncing with the greatest

* See letter of Erasmus to Reuchlin, translated in our vol. ii. p. 157.

temerity, that this proposition is erroneous and that heretical. And indeed we were at one time all the more inclined to find fault with Luther, for fear of a prejudice that might arise against Literature, upon which I did not wish a further burden to be laid. For I saw plainly enough, how invidious an act it is to disturb the stability of things from which a rich harvest is reaped by Priests or Monks.

The first of these writings which came out were several propositions concerning Papal pardons. These were followed by one or two pamphlets about Confession and Penance; and when I became aware that some persons were intent upon their publication,* I did my best to discourage it, that they might not strengthen the prejudice against Good Letters. This circumstance will be shown by the evidence even of those who are Luther's well-wishers. At last a whole swarm of pamphlets came out; no one saw me reading them; no one heard me give any opinion either for or against them. I am not so rash as to approve that which I have not read, nor such a sycophant as to condemn that which I do not know; although in these days this is commonly done by those who have least excuse for doing so.

Germany has now many young men who afford the greatest promise both of erudition and of eloquence, and by whose means she may some time be able to make the same boast as is now fairly made by Britain. None of them are personally known to me,—except Eobanus, Hutten, and Beatus; these with all the weapons they have at command, are waging war against the enemies of the Languages and of Good Letters. The freedom which they claim I might myself admit to be intolerable, did I not know how atrociously they are attacked both publicly and privately. Their

* cum sentirem gestire quosdam ad editionem. I presume that a larger circulation by means of the Press is intended.

assailants, in their sermons, in their schools, in their convivial parties, allow the most odious and indeed seditious appeals to be made to the ignorant multitude, but they judge it to be an intolerable offence, if any of their victims venture to murmur,—when even the little bees have their sting, with which they may wound an assailant, and the mice have teeth to use in their own defence. Whence comes this new race of Gods, fixing the character of heretic on whomsoever they choose, and mingling Earth and Sky, if any one calls them sycophants? And while they do not hesitate to find a name for what even Orestes is ashamed to mention, they demand of us not to be named themselves without some honorable preface,—such confidence have they in the stupidity of the multitude, not to say of our Princes!

For myself, little as I have been able to do in the pursuit of Good Letters, I have always loved them; and I give my support to their adherents, who are everywhere in favour with our nobility, if we except a few Midases,—whom some one will some time take an opportunity of describing! And yet my favour only extends so far, that I support that which is in alliance with Virtue; and if anyone will consider with what faults those authors were saturated who mainly assisted in the old revival of literature in Italy and France, he cannot fail to give his approval to the writers of our own time, whose moral character is such, that they should rather be objects of imitation than of blame to their Theological censors. And whatever they produce, is suspected to be mine, even among you in England, if we may believe what is told us by the merchants who come to this country from yours! For my part I will frankly confess, that I cannot fail to admire literary genius, while I disapprove any licence of the pen, whoever the author may be.

Some time since, Hutten amused himself with a book, the title of which was *Nemo*. Everybody knows that the subject is a ludicrous one; and the Theologians of Louvain,

who think themselves more sharp-sighted than Lynxes, insisted that it was mine ! Presently there came out another publication called 'Fever,' and that was mine too, when the whole character of the book, as well as its whole phraseology, is quite different from my work ! * * *

I have advised by letter all those young German writers to control their excessive freedom of language, and certainly to abstain from any attack upon persons of authority in the Church,—lest they should prejudice against literature those by whose patronage they might be able to stand up against their foes. What more am I to do ? I can advise, but have no power to compel ; I may temper my own style, but to control the pen of another is not in my power. The absurdest thing of all is, that the work which was lately written by the Bishop of Rochester against Lefèvre was suspected to be mine, when there is so great a difference of style,—and indeed I have no pretensions to the erudition of that divine Prelate. There were also persons to be found, who ascribed More's *Utopia* to my authorship, every thing new, whether I like it or not, being attributed to me !

Several months ago an ill-starred and ridiculous booklet came out, the subject of which sufficiently shows that it was written upon the last vacancy of the Papal See, but by what writer is not known, save that its contents show, that, whoever it was, his sympathies were with the French.† The suspicion of its authorship goes the round of many different persons, especially among the Germans, the work being current among them under various titles. When I met with it here myself some years ago circulated in a furtive way,

† The *Julius Exclusus*, an altercation between the deceased Pope Julius and St. Peter at the door of Paradise, was undoubtedly the work of Erasmus, the authorship being no secret to More or to Lupset. See further, p. 400, and vol. ii. pp. 447, 448, 449, 514, 610, 611. And it is of interest to observe, that in all his protest relating to several publications which he disclaims, Erasmus abstains from directly denying the authorship of this.

and had some taste of its contents,—for I galloped through it rather than read it,—many persons can bear witness how hateful it was to me, and what pains I took, that it should be hidden in eternal darkness,—a thing that has been done by me more than once in the case of other publications, as many persons will admit. The facts are shown in a letter written by me to John Cæsarius, which was published at Cologne from a copy furtively obtained.* And I am told that there are some people in your parts, who are trying to fix upon me the suspicion of being the author of this publication; so unwilling are those persons, who regret the revival of learning and of better studies, to leave anything untried that may help to carry out their purpose. The sole argument they rely upon is that of the style,—which nevertheless is not much like mine, unless that is little known to myself. And yet what wonder would there be, if some expressions here and there agreed with my phraseology, when in these days my lucubrations pass through so many hands, that even in the books of those who are writing against me, I often recognise my own style, and have the sensation of being struck by a shaft winged with my own feathers. I have not hitherto composed,—and do not intend to compose,—any work to which I do not prefix my name. We did some fencing long ago in the *Moria*, but without drawing blood, though perhaps with more freedom than enough. At any rate I have taken every precaution, that nothing should proceed from me, which would either corrupt the young by obscenity, or in any way hinder piety, give rise to sedition, or draw a black line across any one's character. Whatever exertions I have hitherto made, have been made for the assistance of honourable studies and the advancement of the Christian religion; and all persons on every side are thankful for what has so been done, except a

* For Epistle to Cæsarius, see our vol. ii. p. 610. The title of the book, in which that epistle was printed, was *Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum*.

few Theologians and Monks, who have no wish to be wiser or better than they are. May I lose the favour of Christ, if I do not desire, that whatever I have of talent or of eloquence should be wholly dedicated to His glory, to the Catholic Church, and to sacred studies.

But of this personal matter I have said more than enough, and was going to write nothing at all, if a British Merchant, on arriving here from home, had not persistently asserted, that some persons had endeavoured to impose this utterly false suspicion upon your Eminence; whose singular prudence nevertheless makes me quite confident, that you will not listen or give any attention to such impudent calumnies. Indeed, if you will deign some time or other to try the experiment in a personal interview, you will find Erasmus devoted to the dignity of the Roman See, especially under the Tenth Leo,—to whose piety he recognizes how much he owes,—and also heartily attached to those persons who lend their services to the cause of Letters and of Religion, among whom your Eminence holds a principal place.

I am sending herewith a copy of my New Testament, which I shall deem to have received a great distinction, if you think it worthy of a place in your Library.

Antwerp, 18 May, [1517].*

The above lengthy letter, addressed to Cardinal Wolsey from Antwerp on the 18th of May without date of year, and printed in 1521 in the collection then published, entitled *Epistolæ ad Diversas*, is not the only epistle of Erasmus (written apparently in 1517, when the author after his visit to England was staying at Antwerp,—see our vol. ii. pp. 558, 561), which has been omitted in its proper chronological position towards the close of our Second Volume, and for which we have here to find a somewhat retarded place in our work. A like description applies to the following epistle, addressed by Erasmus about two months later, on the 23rd of July, 1517, to his

* Antuerpiæ xv. Cal. Jun. *Ep. ad div.* Upon this date see pp. 377, 378.

friend, Ulrich von Hutten, which contains,—in some dozen of our printed pages,—the outcome of a willing effort on the part of the author to comply with a request of his correspondent for a full-length written portrait of their common friend, Thomas More.

EPISTLE 585B. Farrago, p. 329 ; Epist. x. 30 ; C. 472 (447).

Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten.

Most illustrious Hutten, your love, I had almost said your passion for the genius of Thomas More,—kindled as it is by his writings, which, as you truly say, are as learned and witty as anything can possibly be,—is, I assure you, shared by many others ; and moreover the feeling in this case is mutual ; since More is so delighted with what you have written, that I am myself almost jealous of you. It is an example of what Plato says of that sweetest wisdom, which excites much more ardent love among men than the most admirable beauty of form. It is not discerned by the eye of sense, but the mind has eyes of its own, so that even here the Greek saying holds true, that out of Looking grows Liking ; * and so it comes to pass that people are sometimes united in the warmest affection, who have never seen or spoken to each other. And, as it is a common experience, that for some unexplained reason different people are attracted by different kinds of beauty, so between one mind and another, there seems to be a sort of latent kindred, which causes us to be specially delighted with some minds, and not with others.

As to your asking me to paint you a full-length portrait of More, I only wish my power of satisfying your request were equal to your earnestness in pressing it. For to me too, it will be no unpleasant task to linger awhile in the contemplation of a friend, who is the most delightful character in the world. But, in the first place, it is not

* ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν.

given to every man to be aware of all More's accomplishments ; and in the next place, I know not whether he will himself like to have his portrait painted by any artist that chooses to do so. For indeed I do not think it more easy to make a likeness of More than of Alexander the Great, or of Achilles ; neither were those heroes more worthy of immortality. The hand of an Apelles is required for such a subject, and I am afraid I am more like a Fulvius or a Rutuba than an Apelles.* Nevertheless I will try to draw you a sketch, rather than a portrait, of the entire man, so far as daily and domestic intercourse has enabled me to observe his likeness and retain it in my memory. But if some diplomatic employment should ever bring you together, you will find out, how poor an artist you have chosen for this commission ; and I am afraid you will think me guilty of envy or of wilful blindness in taking note of so few out the many good points of his character.

To begin with that part of him which is least known to you,—in shape and stature More is not a tall man, but not remarkably short, all his limbs being so symmetrical, that no deficiency is observed in this respect. His complexion is fair, his face being rather blonde than pale, but with no approach to redness, except a very delicate flush, which lights up the whole. His hair is auburn inclining to black, or if you like it better, black inclining to auburn ; his beard thin, his eyes a bluish grey with some sort of tinting upon them.† This kind of eye is thought to be a sign of the happiest character, and is regarded with favour in England, whereas

* Vereor ne ipse Fulvii Rutubæque similior sim quam Apellis. In the passage of Horace here alluded to (Sat. II. vii. 96), Fulvius and Rutuba are generally understood to be the names of gladiators, depicted in a popular hand-bill. But Erasmus appears to interpret them as the names of humble artists dealing with such common-place subjects.

† capilli subnigro flavore sive mavis sufflavo nigrare : barba rarior : oculi subcæsi maculis quibusdam interspersi.

with us black eyes are rather preferred. It is said, that no kind of eye is so free from defects of sight. His countenance answers to his character, having an expression of kind and friendly cheerfulness with a little air of raillery. To speak candidly, it is a face more expressive of pleasantry than of gravity or dignity, though very far removed from folly or buffoonery. His right shoulder seems a little higher than his left, especially when he is walking, a peculiarity that is not innate, but the result of habit, like many tricks of the kind. In the rest of his body there is nothing displeasing,—only his hands are a little coarse, or appear so, as compared with the rest of his figure. He has always from his boyhood been very negligent of his toilet, so as not to give much attention even to the things, which according to Ovid are all that men need care about.* What a charm there was in his looks when young, may even now be inferred from what remains; although I knew him myself when he was not more than three and-twenty years old; for he has not yet passed much beyond his fortieth year.† His health is sound rather than robust, but sufficient for any labours suitable to an honourable citizen; and we may fairly hope, that his life may be long, as he has a father living of a great age, but an age full of freshness and vigour.

I have never seen any person less fastidious in his choice of food. As a young man, he was by preference a water-drinker, a practice he derived from his father. But, not to give annoyance to others, he used at table to conceal this habit from his guests by drinking, out of a pewter vessel, either small beer almost as weak as water, or plain water. As to wine, it being the custom, where he was, for the company to invite each other to drink in turn out of the same cup, he used sometimes to sip a little of it, to avoid appearing to

* Ovid. *de Arte Amandi*, lib. i. 514. Sit bene conveniens et sine labore toga: etc.

† As to the date of More's birth, see note at the end of this epistle, p. 402.

shrink from it altogether, and to habituate himself to the common practice. For his eating he has been accustomed to prefer beef and salt meats, and household bread thoroughly fermented, to those articles of diet which are commonly regarded as delicacies. But he does not shrink from things that impart an innocent pleasure, even of a bodily kind, and has always a good appetite for milk-puddings and for fruit, and eats a dish of eggs with the greatest relish.

His voice is neither loud nor excessively low, but of a penetrating tone. It has nothing in it melodious or soft, but is simply suitable for speech, as he does not seem to have any natural talent for singing, though he takes pleasure in music of every kind. His articulation is wonderfully distinct, being equally free from hurry and from hesitation.

He likes to be dressed simply, and does not wear silk, or purple, or gold chains, except when it is not allowable to dispense with them. He cares marvellously little for those formalities, which with ordinary people are the test of politeness ; and as he does not exact these ceremonies from others, so he is not scrupulous in observing them himself, either on occasions of meeting or at entertainments, though he understands how to use them, if he thinks proper to do so ; but he holds it to be effeminate and unworthy of a man to waste much of his time on such trifles.

He was formerly rather disinclined to a Court life and to any intimacy with princes, having always a special hatred of tyranny and a great fancy for equality ; whereas you will scarcely find any Court so well-ordered, as not to have much bustle and ambition and pretence and luxury, or to be free from tyranny in some form or other. He could not even be tempted to Henry the Eighth's Court without great trouble, although nothing could be desired more courteous or less exacting than this Prince.* He is naturally fond of liberty

* cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam possit civilius ac modestius. It is of interest to observe this early estimate of King Henry's character.

and leisure ; but as he enjoys a holiday when he has it, so whenever business requires it, no one is more vigilant or more patient.

He seems to be born and made for friendship, of which he is the sincerest and most persistent devotee. Neither is he afraid of that multiplicity of friends, of which Hesiod disapproves. Accessible to every tender of intimacy, he is by no means fastidious in choosing his acquaintance, while he is most accommodating in keeping it on foot, and constant in retaining it. If he has fallen in with anyone whose faults he cannot cure, he finds some opportunity of parting with him, untying the knot of intimacy without tearing it ; but when he has found any sincere friends, whose characters are suited to his own, he is so delighted with their society and conversation, that he seems to find in these the chief pleasure of life, having an absolute distaste for tennis and dice and cards, and the other games with which the mass of gentlemen beguile the tediousness of Time. It should be added that, while he is somewhat neglectful of his own interest, no one takes more pains in attending to the concerns of his friends. What more need I say ? If anyone requires a perfect example of true friendship, it is in More that he will best find it.

In company his extraordinary kindness and sweetness of temper are such as to cheer the dullest spirit, and alleviate the annoyance of the most trying circumstances. From boyhood he was always so pleased with a joke, that it might seem that jesting was the main object of his life ; but with all that, he did not go so far as buffoonery, nor had ever any inclination to bitterness. When quite a youth, he wrote farces and acted them. If a thing was facetiously said, even though it was aimed at himself, he was charmed with it, so much did he enjoy any witticism that had a flavour of subtlety or genius. This led to his amusing himself as a young man with epigrams, and taking great delight in

Lucian. Indeed, it was he that suggested my writing the *Moria*, or Praise of Folly, which was much the same thing as setting a camel to dance.

There is nothing that occurs in human life, from which he does not seek to extract some pleasure, although the matter may be serious in itself. If he has to do with the learned and intelligent, he is delighted with their cleverness, if with unlearned or stupid people, he finds amusement in their folly. He is not offended even by professed clowns,* as he adapts himself with marvellous dexterity to the tastes of all ; while with ladies generally, and even with his wife, his conversation is made up of humour and playfulness. You would say it was a second Democritus, or rather that Pythagorean philosopher, who strolls in leisurely mood through the market-place, contemplating the turmoil of those who buy and sell. There is no one less guided by the opinion of the multitude, but on the other hand no one sticks more closely to common sense.

One of his amusements is in observing the forms, characters and instincts of different animals. Accordingly there is scarcely any kind of bird, that he does not keep about his residence, and the same of other animals not quite so common, as monkeys, foxes, ferrets, weasels and the like. Beside these, if he meets with any strange object, imported from abroad or otherwise remarkable, he is most eager to buy it, and has his house so well supplied with these objects, that there is something in every room which catches your eye, as you enter it ; and his own pleasure is renewed every time that he sees others interested.

When of a sentimental age, he was not a stranger to the

* *Nec offenditur morionibus.* The picture of More and his family, painted by Holbein in or about 1527, includes his fool or jester. In the original sketch for this painting, preserved at Basel, there are inscriptions over each figure, probably dictated by More. Above the fool is written *Henricus Patersonus Thomæ Mori Morio Anno 40.* Bridgett, *Life of More*, p. 148.

emotions of love, but without loss of character, having no inclination to press his advantage, and being more attracted by a mutual liking than by any licentious object.

He had drunk deep of Good Letters from his earliest years ; and when a young man, he applied himself to the study of Greek and of philosophy ; but his father was so far from encouraging him in this pursuit, that he withdrew his allowance and almost disowned him, because he thought he was deserting his hereditary study, being himself an expert professor of English Law. For remote as that profession is from true learning, those who become masters of it have the highest rank and reputation among their countrymen ; and it is difficult to find any readier way to acquire fortune and honour. Indeed a considerable part of the nobility of that island has had its origin in this profession, in which it is said that no one can be perfect, unless he has toiled at it for many years. It was natural, that in his younger days our friend's genius, born for better things, should shrink from this study ; nevertheless, after he had had a taste of the learning of the Schools, he became so conversant with it, that there was no one more eagerly consulted by suitors ; and the income that he made by it was not surpassed by any of those who did nothing else ; such was the power and quickness of his intellect.

He also expended considerable labour in perusing the volumes of the orthodox Fathers ; and when scarcely more than a youth, he lectured publicly on the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine before a numerous audience, old men and priests not being ashamed to take a lesson in divinity from a young layman, and not at all sorry to have done so. Meantime he applied his whole mind to religion, having some thought of taking orders, for which he prepared himself by watchings and fastings and prayers and such like exercises ; wherein he showed much more wisdom than the generality of people, who rashly engage in so arduous

a profession without testing themselves beforehand. And indeed there was no obstacle to his adopting this kind of life, except the fact, that he could not shake off his wish to marry. Accordingly he resolved to be a chaste husband rather than a licentious priest.

When he married, he chose a very young girl, a lady by birth, with her character still unformed, having been always kept in the country with her parents and sisters,—so that he was all the better able to fashion her according to his own habits. Under his direction she was instructed in learning and in every kind of Music, and had almost completely become just such a person as would have been a delightful companion for his whole life, if an early death had not carried her away. She had however borne him several children, of whom three girls, Margaret, Alice and Cecily, and one boy, John, are still living.

More did not however long remain single, but contrary to his friends' advice,* a few months after his wife's death, he married a widow, more for the sake of the management of his household, than to please his own fancy, as she is no great beauty, nor yet young, *nec bella admodum nec puella*, as he sometimes laughingly says, but a sharp and watchful housewife ; with whom nevertheless he lives, on as sweet and pleasant terms as if she were as young and lovely as any one could desire ; and scarcely any husband obtains from his wife by masterfulness and severity as much compliance as he does by blandishments and jests. Indeed, what more compliance could he have, when he has induced a woman who is already elderly, who is not naturally of a yielding character, and whose mind is occupied with business, to learn to play on the harp, the viol, the spinet and the flute,† and to give up every day a prescribed time to

* *licet alio vocantibus amicorum consiliis.* We have here in all probability an allusion to a correspondence between More and the writer, which would have been of no little interest, if it had been preserved.

† *Cithara, testudine, monochordo, tibiis canere.*

practice? With similar kindness he rules his whole household, in which there are no tragic incidents, and no quarrels. If anything of the kind should be likely, he either calms it down, or applies a remedy at once. And in parting with any member of his household he has never acted in a hostile spirit, or treated him as an enemy. Indeed his house seems to have a sort of fatal felicity, no one having lived in it without being advanced to higher fortune, no inmate having ever had a stain upon his character.

It would be difficult to find any one living on such terms with a mother as he does with his step-mother. For his father had brought in one stepmother after another; and he has been as affectionate with each of them as with a mother. He has lately introduced a third, and More swears that he never saw anything better. His affection for his parents, children and sisters* is such, that he neither wearies them with his love, nor ever fails in any kindly attention.

His character is entirely free from any touch of avarice. He has set aside out of his property what he thinks sufficient for his children, and spends the rest in a liberal fashion. When he was still dependent on his profession, he gave every client true and friendly counsel with an eye to their advantage rather than his own, generally advising them, that the cheapest thing they could do was to come to terms with their opponents. If he could not persuade them to do this, he pointed out how they might go to law at least expense; for there are some people whose character leads them to delight in litigation.

In the City of London, where he was born, he acted for some years as judge in civil causes.† This office, which

* I am inclined to infer from this passage that More's brother, John, of whom we have found some notice in 1511 (see vol. ii. pp. 43, 50), was no longer living.

† The office, held by More, seems to have been that of Under-Sheriff of London.

is by no means burdensome,—inasmuch as the Court sits only on Thursdays before dinner,—is considered highly honorable; and no judge ever disposed of more suits, or conducted himself with more perfect integrity. In most cases he remitted the fees which are due from the litigants, the practice being for the plaintiff to deposit three groats* before the hearing, and the defendant a like sum, and no more being allowed to be exacted. By such conduct he made himself extremely popular in the City.

He had made up his mind to be contented with this position, which was sufficiently dignified without being exposed to serious dangers. He has been thrust more than once into an embassy,† in the conduct of which he has shown great ability; and King Henry in consequence would never rest until he dragged him into his Court. ‘Dragged him,’ I say, and with reason; for no one was ever more ambitious of being admitted into a Court, than he was anxious to escape it. But as this excellent monarch was resolved to pack his

* *Tres drachmas*, translated ‘groats’ by Nicholas Harpsfield, who wrote a life of More in the time of Queen Mary. Bridgett, *Life of More*, p. 66.

† Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem, in qua cum se cordatisime gessisset, etc. We do not distinctly know of More having been employed, before this date, upon more than one embassy abroad, which occupied him about six months from May, 1515; see p. 419, and vol. ii. p. 269. His next service of this kind began in August, 1517, shortly after the date of this letter. But Sir James Mackintosh states, on the authority of the City Records, that he had leave from the Common Council of London, 8 May, 1514, to appoint a deputy in his City office during his absence as the King’s Ambassador in Flanders; so that an earlier embassy appears to have been at least *proposed*. (See Bridgett, *Life of More*, p. 68, Mackintosh’s *Life*, p. 35.) The date of this letter to Hutten,—if right as here corrected,—shows, that More was attached to Henry’s household somewhat earlier than has been hitherto supposed. In More’s letter of February, 1516, there is no sign of his being then at the Court, from which he forwards the news at second hand; but the description, given by Erasmus in the above letter (p. 397), of More’s intimacy with the King, appears to be that of an eye-witness. We may therefore conjecture, that this intimacy began before the end of Erasmus’s last visit to England in April, 1517.

household with learned, serious, intelligent and honest men, he especially insisted upon having More among them,—with whom he is on such terms of intimacy that he cannot bear to let him go. If serious affairs are in hand, no one gives wiser counsel; if it pleases the King to relax his mind with agreeable conversation, no man is better company. Difficult questions are often arising, which require a grave and prudent judge; and these questions are resolved by More in such a way, that both sides are satisfied. And yet no one has ever induced him to accept a present. What a blessing it would be for the world, if magistrates like More were everywhere put in office by sovereigns!

Meantime there is no assumption of superiority. In the midst of so great a pressure of business he remembers his humble friends; and from time to time he returns to his beloved studies. Whatever authority he derives from his rank, and whatever influence he enjoys by the favour of a powerful sovereign, are employed in the service of the public, or in that of his friends. It has always been part of his character to be most obliging to every body, and marvellously ready with his sympathy; and this disposition is more conspicuous than ever, now that his power of doing good is greater. Some he relieves with money, some he protects by his authority, some he promotes by his recommendation, while those whom he cannot otherwise assist are benefited by his advice. No one is sent away in distress, and you might call him the general patron of all poor people. He counts it a great gain to himself, if he has relieved some oppressed person, made the path clear for one that was in difficulties, or brought back into favour one that was in disgrace. No man more readily confers a benefit, no man expects less in return. And successful as he is in so many ways,—while success is generally accompanied by self-conceit,—I have never seen any mortal being more free from this failing.

I now propose to turn to the subject of those studies which have been the chief means of bringing More and me together. In his first youth his principal literary exercises were in verse. He afterwards wrestled for a long time to make his prose more smooth ; practising his pen in every kind of writing in order to form that style,* the character of which there is no occasion for me to recall, especially to you, who have his books always in your hands. He took the greatest pleasure in declamations, choosing some disputable subject, as involving a keener exercise of mind. Hence, while still a youth, he attempted a dialogue, in which he carried the defence of Plato's community even to the matter of wives ! He wrote an answer to Lucian's *Tyrannicide*,† in which argument it was his wish to have me for a rival, in order to test his own proficiency in this kind of writing.

He published his *Utopia* for the purpose of showing, what are the things that occasion mischief in commonwealths ; having the English constitution especially in view, which he so thoroughly knows and understands. He had written the second book at his leisure, and afterwards, when he found it was required, added the first off-hand. Hence there is some inequality in the style.

It would be difficult to find any one more successful in speaking *ex tempore*, the happiest thoughts being attended by the happiest language ; while a mind that catches and anticipates all that passes, and a ready memory, having everything as it were in stock, promptly supply whatever the time, or the occasion, demands. In disputations nothing can be imagined more acute, so that the most eminent theologians often find their match, when he meets them on their own ground. Hence John Colet, a man of keen and exact judgment, is wont to say in familiar conversation, that

* It may be presumed that the writer is speaking of More's Latin style.

† *Declamatio Erasmi quæ Luciani Declamationi respondeat.* *Erasmi Opera*, vol. i. p. 271.

England has only one genius, whereas that island abounds in distinguished intellects.

However averse he may be from all superstition, he is a steady adherent of true piety ; having regular hours for his prayers, which are not uttered by rote, but from the heart. He talks with his friends about a future life in such a way as to make you feel that he believes what he says, and does not speak without the best hope. Such is More, even at Court ; and there are still people who think that Christians are only to be found in monasteries ! Such are the persons, whom a wise King admits into his household, and into his chamber ; and not only admits, but invites, nay, compels them to come in. These he has by him as the constant witnesses and judges of his life,—as his advisers and travelling companions. By these he rejoices to be accompanied, rather than by dissolute young men or by fops, or even by decorated grandees, or by crafty ministers, of whom one would lure him to silly amusements, another would incite him to tyranny, and a third would suggest some fresh schemes for plundering his people. If you had lived at this Court, you would, I am sure, give a new description of Court life, and cease to be *Misaulos* ; though you too live with such a prince, that you cannot wish for a better, and have some companions like Stromer and Copp, whose sympathies are on the right side. But what is that small number compared with such a swarm of distinguished men as Mountjoy, Linacre, Pace, Colet, Stokesley, Latimer, More, Tunstall, Clerk, and others like them, any one of whose names signifies at once a world of virtues and accomplishments ? However, I have no mean hope, that Albert, who is at this time the one ornament of our Germany, will attach to his household a multitude of persons like himself, and set a notable example to other princes ; so that they may exert themselves in their own circles to do the like.

You have now before you an ill-drawn portrait, by a poor artist, of an excellent original ! You will be still less pleased

with the portrait, if you come to have a closer acquaintance with More himself. But meantime I have made sure of this, that you will not be able to charge me with neglecting your command, nor continue to find fault with the shortness of my letters; though even this one has not seemed too long to me in writing it, and will not, I am confident, appear prolix to you, as you read it; our More's sweetness will secure that. However,—not to leave unanswered your last letter, which I read in print before I saw it in writing,—I have been informed of the kindness of the most illustrious Prince Albert by his own letter to me. But how, I should like to know, has it come to pass, that that cup has reached every one by means of your letter before it has come to me? You certainly could not have sent it more safely by any one than by Richard Pace, the ambassador of the English king, whether I was in Brabant or in England.*

You, I see, are doing vigorous battle both with the pen and with the sword,—successfully too, as well as bravely! For I hear you are in great favour with the Cardinal of Gaëta. I am glad that we have good news of *Capnio*.† If Literature allows the name of Franz von Sickingen to die, she may fairly be taxed with ingratitude.‡

* It appears that the Archduke Albert had proposed to present to Erasmus a silver cup, which might have been forwarded to him through the agency of Richard Pace. Pace, who went abroad in October, 1515, was at Zurich in 1516 and at Constance in August, September and October, 1517. Brewer, *Abstracts*, vol. ii. p. 382. He appears to have stayed at Bruges on his way back to England in November, 1517. See before, p. 162.

† *Capnioni bene esse gaudeo*. *Capnio* is Reuchlin, the Greek word *καπνός*, being equivalent to the German *Rauch*, English *smoke*. The last news about his suit at Rome appears to have been favourable; but we read in Hutten's letter of 21 July, 1517, Epistle 585, which probably crossed this, that the suit was still before the Court. See vol. ii. pp. 595, 599, 600.

‡ Franz von Sickingen (Franciscus Sichernius), a distinguished Free Lance, was a supporter of the Protestant movement and a friend of Hutten, who was his guest from 1520 to 1522. The death of Sickingen occurred in May, 1523, during the siege of his castle of Landstuhl by the Imperial army.

For our own news, there will be another occasion. Only this at present; business is conducted at this Court by the meanest sycophancy,—a trade to which I must confess myself unequal. If there is any one of your acquaintance who wants to learn it, I will point him out a wonderful master of this accomplishment,—one, of whom you may say that he was evidently born for it. Cicero was not a more successful orator than he a sycophant; and he finds many docile pupils among us! The right time is not come, but before long I will introduce the man to you, so that he may obtain the glory which he well deserves, and of which he is sadly ambitious. He will then be celebrated in the letters of all the learned, as a portent rather than a man. Farewell.

Antwerp, 23 July, [1517].*

It will be seen in the note below, that the year-date assigned to this letter in the *Farrago Epistolarum* is 1519, which is the date of the publication of the volume of *Epistles* itself. And this year-date has been unsuspectingly assumed to be true by the biographers of Erasmus and of More. I have taken the year-date printed above from the statement in the letter (p. 389), which shows that little more than seventeen years had passed since the first acquaintance of Erasmus with More, which began in the summer of 1499. See vol. i. p. 200. And this correction is confirmed by the mention (p. 400) of Pace's foreign residence, which terminated for the time in the autumn of 1517. See pp. 146, 162, 418. It may be observed, that in July, 1518, Erasmus was at Basel; but in July, 1516 and 1517, and also in July, 1519, he was in the Netherlands.

On the other hand the reference (p. 396) to More's *repeated* diplomatic employment might seem to favour the later date; but a probable revision of the letter before publication may account for the expression *semel atque iterum*. Owing to the loss of all the records of the proceedings of the English Privy Council of this period, it is not known at what date More was sworn on the Council, but his attraction to the Court took place before his embassy of 1517, and soon after his return from his first mission to Flanders. A letter of

* Antuerpiæ, Decimo Cal. Augusti. An. M.D.XIX. *Farrago*.

Ammonius, dated 17 Feb. [1516], (Epistle 377, vol. ii. pp. 242, 243), and More's own letter of about the same date, Epistle 396, show that the latter was then much with Wolsey; and Erasmus's letter to Ammonius, 11 March, [1517], Epistle 532, tells the same tale.

It may be worth while to observe, that the evidence of Erasmus about the age of More (p. 389), which places his birth in 1477, suggests the correction of an assumption which has been made since the discovery in 1868 of a contemporary memorandum relating to the family of Sir John More (Notes and Queries, 17 Oct. 1868). In this document it is stated, that Thomas More was born on *Friday* the 7th of February in the 17th year of Edward IV.; and the 7th of February, 17 Edw. IV. (1478) having occurred on a Saturday, it has been assumed that the day of the week was mistaken, and that More was born on *Saturday*, 7 Feb. 1478. But it is obvious, that the mistake may have been, not in the day of the week, but in the year of the reign, and the birth have taken place on *Friday*, 7 Feb. 16 Edw. IV. 1477. And this last supposition, which agrees with the statement of Erasmus as to More's age, is further confirmed by observing the date of birth of the next-born child of the same mother. John More and Agnes Graunger were married, 24 Ap. 1474, and their children were 1. Jane, born 11 March, 1475, 2. Thomas, born 7 Feb. 1477 (not, as assumed, 1478, within a year before the accepted date of birth of the next child), 3. Agatha, born 31 Jan. 1479, 4. John, born 6 June, 1480, 5. Edward, born 3 Sept. 1481, and 6. Elizabeth, born 22 Sept. 1482. (Compare Bridgett's Life of More, p. 144.)

The two following letters of Erasmus, printed in *Farrago*, and addressed respectively to Nicolas Bérauld and to William Hué, are both dated at Antwerp on the 9th of August (quinto Idus Augusti), without date of year; and to these day-dates in the London edition is added the year-date, 1518. This year-date however cannot be accepted as correct, because it appears to be clear, that at this date of August in the year 1518 Erasmus was at Basel.* But during the late summer and early autumn of the year 1517, he was staying for a time in the Netherlands at Louvain or at Antwerp, from which latter city he addressed, on the 16th of August, a letter to Cæsarius (see our vol. ii. p. 610); and these letters addressed to Bérauld and to Hué,

* See Epistles 805, 806.

and dated from Antwerp the 9th of August, may well be ascribed to the same earlier year. Omitted among the Epistles of that time, room has been found for them in this Chapter, in accordance with the date of day assigned to them in *Farrago*; the year-date 1518, added apparently by a hasty conjecture in the London edition, being replaced by one founded on a closer study of the movements of Erasmus.

In a letter, written by Bérauld to Erasmus from Paris some three weeks before (see Epistle 766, p. 316),* the writer had complained, that he had received no answer to two letters addressed by him to Erasmus during the two previous years; and accordingly, in the opening words of the following Epistle, Erasmus proposes to answer, not one, but three letters of his correspondent.

EPISTLE 593B. *Farrago* ; Ep. xi. 15 ; C. 335 (327).

Erasmus to Nicolas Bérauld.

I am now proposing to answer by one letter your three last, that is to say, to daub several walls with one pail of whitewash. I am aware that, frequently as I have written to you, it has been in so laconic a fashion, that I may seem to you not to have written at all ; such, my Bérauld, is the inevitable consequence of the mass of literary work with which I am overwhelmed. If you take count of the time that must be devoted to one's religious duties, to one's nights' rest, (for which I have to allow a wide margin, going to bed, as I do, when it is nearly dawn), to one's health, and to the writing and correcting of books, you will easily reckon how little leisure I have for answering all my correspondents.

* In our translation of this Epistle the added year-date, p. 318, should have been, not 1518, but 1517, the following letter being written in answer to it.

You must not however suppose, that my studies have as their object to drive Thomas or Scotus out of the public schools, of which they have been so long in possession.* This indeed is not within my power, and were it so, I am not sure whether it is to be wished, unless we see some better kind of instruction quite ready to take their place. What other people may be endeavouring to do, they must consider for themselves; I shall never be the author of this revolution. Sufficient for me, if Theology be more soberly treated than it has hitherto been, and if that instruction be sought directly from Gospel sources, which we have hitherto, —most of us,—derived from cisterns not quite pure. And in this effort we have not been altogether without success, some persons having been led, and some even driven, to take up this study in a more serious way. To the praise which you so freely bestow upon me, what answer can I make except this, that you are subject to a loving hallucination with regard to Erasmus? So much in reply to your epistle written at Paris on the 16th of March.†

As to the letter brought back by Nesen, a very trusty and sincere friend,—what message you may have entrusted to Calvus, or what he may have conveyed to me, I do not recollect; he certainly never met me at Basel, nor was anything in writing received by me there from him. At Louvain he had extorted from me a prolix letter to Grolier,

* Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. In a letter to Thomas Grey, also included in *Farrago*, and translated in our first volume, Epistle 59, Erasmus had described the little sympathy which he then had for the Scotistic theology. See vol. i. pp. 141-144. Some such feeling had probably been expressed in the earlier letter to his present correspondent.

† ad epistolam quam Lutetiæ scripseras decimo Calend. April. C. In the above translation I have ventured to correct this date by the addition of the word *septimo*, which is found after *decimo* in the date of the letter referred to, but is here, apparently by accident, omitted. See p. 318, where, if my other dates are right, the year-date supplied should be 1517, not 1518.

the Prefect of Insubria,* with a promise of mountains of gold, as the saying is. You will have seen my letter, which has been published. He boasts of Grolier having written an answer, when I have myself no assurance as yet, whether my letter has been delivered to him.†

You say, that a letter is soon to come to me from Stephen Poncher, the Archbishop of Paris, about some matters of importance. To me it will be itself a matter of importance, if so great a person, for whom I have the highest regard, shall have written to me. For the rest, I do not care about a great fortune to which an equal burden is attached, my mind having always loved ease and liberty, and hated the noise and bustle of affairs.

As to what you have written to Dorpius, Nesen has been so far from telling me about it, that I had not even heard from him, that you had written. A very few days ago I did hear, that Hermann Frieslander had delivered to Dorpius a letter from you, finding fault with him for something. I should be sorry, my Bérauld, if there should be any bitterness between you; for if Dorpius is in fault, it is the effect of his readiness to oblige rather than of any mischievous intention. That the Theologians are in some measure becoming more wise, and in some measure more moderate, I am very glad to hear,—not so much on my account as on their own!

Now, not to leave the letter, brought me by Hermann Frieslander, altogether without answer,—I may add that

* The word *Insubria* appears to be used as the name of the district of Lombardy now called the Milanese, which was at that time in French occupation, and in which we have seen that Grolier collected the rents and taxes belonging to the Government, this being no doubt part of his duty as Prefect. See before, pp. 362, 363.

† The letter of Erasmus to Grolier is translated as Epistle 791, in this volume. We have no evidence (except the above hint) of any answer on the part of the French scholar.

this young person was earnestly recommended to me by many of my correspondents, and I am obliged to them all, having by their means become acquainted with a character which is in so many ways worthy of love. The only thing he wanted was a meeting and a talk, and I have not been loth to give him my company so far as it did not interfere with my literary work. In my turn I commend him to you, that you may like him more than ever for my sake.

Antwerp, 9 August, [1517].*

The correspondent addressed in the following letter, William Hué, is entitled in the address, Dean of the Church of Paris.† A later Epistle of Erasmus to Bérauld, dated the 16th of February, 1521,—C. 634 (566),—contains the following passage, which probably refers to this letter: "Challenged by your letter, I had written to Dean Hué, and he is so absolutely silent, that he may seem to have been offended by the liberty I had taken. If he is, do be so good as to make my peace with the man, whom you wished to make my friend." We may conjecture, that Bérauld had misunderstood some observation of Dean Hué, and that the latter, without any hostile feeling, had no ambition to become himself a correspondent of Erasmus.

EPISTLE 593C. Farrago; Ep. xi. 22; C. 335 (326).

Erasmus to William Hué.

Nicolas Bérauld, a man born for the Graces, is making a wonderful effort in his letters to bring you and me into correspondence; and supposing this were to be a rivalry of erudition or of eloquence, he could not propose to me anything more formidable than such a suggestion. In this

* Antuerpiæ, v. Idus August. *Farrago*.

† Guilielmo Hueo, Parisiensis Ecclesiæ Decano.

tourney, he says, he had rather be challenged by you than be himself the challenger, being withal a person eminently practised in every kind of literary composition. When, between two persons fairly matched, the one who strikes the first blow is always held to be the more audacious, who would say that there is any lack of assurance or of courage, if a Thersites like myself ventures to challenge an Achilles? * On an occasion when no one is hindered by his rank or fortune from rivalling the greatest persons † in love and goodwill, and he is considered the more modest who strikes the first blow, I have not been afraid of yielding to your wish and that of Bérauld. Accordingly in this letter a man of the greatest erudition is challenged by one of little learning, and a person of the highest character by one who can make no such claim, but who nevertheless will not yield in the interchange of affection.

I hear with the greatest pleasure, that the Academy of Paris to her ancient studies, for which she has hitherto had and still retains the highest reputation, is now eagerly adding an acquaintance with the three Tongues; and that on every occasion of theological discussion she is recurring to the purest springs of the Sacred Volumes, having no common feeling with those few scholars,—not her best friends,—who think that this learning is opposed to true Theology, when in fact none is more serviceable to honest studies of every kind. This result I attribute in part to the candour of the French intellect, and in part to the wisdom of that excellent Prelate, Stephen Poncher—a person having a divine commission for the advancement of learning and piety,—but most of all, to the best of

* quis diceret, quicquam esse mihi vel frontis vel cordis, si Thersites Achillem ausim lacescere? So C. I have ventured, in my translation, for *esse* to read *desse*, which the sense appears to require.

† quominus quum (*read cum*) quamlibet magnis . . . certet. C.

Sovereigns, King Francis. We alone cannot yet take the same congratulation to ourselves ; but our outlook is not without hope. May Christ, Best and Greatest, bring it to pass that, as our Princes do everywhere favour and foster rightly directed studies, so they may embrace a Philosophy worthy of persons who are His Vice-gerents ; and that thus, being far removed from barbaric tyranny, they may not by their ambition destroy the tranquillity, and at the same time the liberty, of the Christian world. While they encourage that Literature, whereby the achievements of Princes are handed down to the memory of Posterity, may they endeavour to make their own actions such as may deserve to be celebrated by the suffrage of all future ages !

Farewell, best of men, whom I shall henceforth reckon among those of the name of William, who are my Providential friends.

Antwerp, 9 August, [1517].*

In reading the concluding words of this letter to William Hué, it may be remembered, that Erasmus in an earlier Epistle, addressed to William Budé, called attention to the prevalence of the name of William among his patrons and friends, a like observation having been made in a more general way by his correspondent. See our vol. ii. pp. 472, 497, 498.

The following Epistle, addressed to Peter Gillis upon the death of his father, and apparently written not long after the event,† is printed in the *Epistolæ ad Diversos* with the date, *Louanij*, and in the *Opus Epistolarum* with the date, *Lovanij, Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo nono*. Assuming, as we may safely do, the date of *place* to

* Antuerpiæ, v. Idus Augusti. See the observations upon the year-date of this and the preceding Epistles, pp. 377, 387.

† The elder Gillis appears to have died in the second week of November, 1517. See before, pp. 137, 145, 150.

be trustworthy, the letter may be attributed to the winter of 1517-8, and was probably written during the residence of Erasmus, as the guest of Nævius, at the Lilian College, Louvain, in December, 1517, before his journey to Basel. See pp. 145, 154, 158.

EPISTLE 690. *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, p. 654; *Epist.*
xvii. 17; C. 541 (495).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Considering that in human affairs there is so complete an absence of perpetuity, that nothing can be even of long continuance, you ought not so much to be distressed by the loss of a father, as to congratulate yourself upon having had such a parent. I beseech you, turn your glance round upon all the families of your city, and take counsel with yourself, whether you would have chosen any other father, if some god had granted you the power to do so. Either I am much mistaken, or you would not wish for any other than you have had. And he too may be reckoned to have been among the happy men, if there be any happiness at all in this life. Assume it to be a blessing to live long; he had reached his eightieth year, with his limbs so sound, and his eyesight so good, that he had no need of either walking-stick or spectacles, while the first touch of grey had scarcely begun to tinge the blackness of his hair; and what was happiest of all, as it is most rare,—his mind was perfect in all its faculties. If an auspicious marriage be a blessing, that blessing was twice allotted to him, his second union being in this respect the happier, that it gave to an excellent husband a number of excellent children, of whom he saw many not only continuing alive, but adult and promoted to some honorable position. And, as his own life was so spent among his fellow citizens that no foul rumour ever cast any aspersion

upon his reputation, so his children were all brought up in such a fashion, that none of them ever gave him occasion for regret or shame. What character will you find more holy than your father's,—what more blameless than your mother's? How dearly did he love his wife, and with what veneration did she regard her husband! It is not always the case, that the best parents have the best children; but how little distress did Death occasion him, when he saw that he should survive in children such as his! When that elder Nicolas kissed your own sweet child Nicolas, he did not seem to himself to be dying.

His fortune, without being very large, was adequate; and what in these days is rare, it was honestly acquired. He had chosen a profession, which, without any sharp practice, brought him in an income sufficient both for maintaining his family and for relieving his poor neighbours, to whom he was most liberal; while to his children he has left what would be an honest maintenance, even if they had no accession of income from any other quarter. He filled several high offices in his city, and might have held others still more important, if he had been ambitious to do so; and of those which he did hold, the duties were so performed as to give no occasion of complaint to any one.

Domestic discord was as hateful to him as any plague; while at the same time his good-nature was such, that he never had a quarrel with any fellow townsman, being rather disposed to give up his strict right, if he saw that concord could not otherwise be maintained. No one ever heard him utter a word, that was either frivolous, obscene, or calumnious. In so populous a city he had not a single enemy; and when he died, he was lamented as a father by most of his neighbours, and especially by the poor.

With what patience did he bear the tortures which he suffered for several days! For no death is more painful than that which is caused by the disorder from which he

died.* On his death-bed, he had no other charge to give his children, but the maintenance of concord and piety, while he left his property so distributed among his heirs, that it was of no importance which portion was chosen by any of them ; and no person was to be found who could say, that there was a farthing owing to him. Does it not seem an act of ingratitude to mourn for such a parent ? Should you not rather be thankful for so blessed a memory, and wish him joy upon being wafted from the billows of this life into the haven of Immortality ?

Continue therefore to commemorate your father by the integrity of your own character, as you have hitherto done ; and so frame your son from his tender years, that he may recall his grandfather, not only by the name he bears, but by the holiness of his life, while he may commemorate his father, and his uncle too, by his erudition. Let him at once suck in the decrees of Evangelical wisdom, even as the milk of his soul ; let him imbibe the seeds of both Literatures, and send kisses to his parent with charming prattle in Greek and in Latin ; and so, my Peter, may you live on with your Cornelia to a happy old age, and in the best of children find that pleasure which brings with it the highest honour.

Farewell, incomparable friend.

Louvain [December 1517].†

* mors quæ accidit ex obturatis urinæ viis.

† Louanij. *Ep. ad div.* Louanii Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo nono. *Opus Epist.* Upon this date see an observation in pp. 408, 409.

CHAPTER LII.

Summer and early autumn of 1518. Journey of Erasmus to Basel; Arrival on Ascension-day, May 13; Epistles of Erasmus to Barbier and More in May; to Pirckheimer in June; of Gillis to Erasmus in June; of Erasmus to Bombasius in July; Correspondence with Zäsi; Epistle to Pucci, Papal Legate; Dedication of Second Edition of New Testament to Pope Leo; Epistles to Oswald, and to Boniface Amerbach in August; Brief of Pope Leo approving Erasmus's work, 10 September. Epistles 801 to 811.

When, after the retrospect contained in our last Chapter (see pp. 377, 386) we pass on to the summer of 1518, we may first observe, that the three Letters, bearing date at Louvain, the 29th of April, 1518, which are translated at the end of our Fiftieth Chapter, are the last Epistles that we have of Erasmus, which can be attributed to that year before his journey to Basel. This journey, for which he had been long preparing, appears to have been begun on the last day of April, and to have been completed on Ascension-day, May 13. We have no further particulars of the journey, but we may gather from the following Epistle, and from later letters, that it was more than usually fatiguing and laborious, on account of the excessive heat of an early summer. By the two following Epistles, written some days after his arrival at Basel, Erasmus sent to Barbier at Brussels, Secretary of Chancellor Le Sauvage, the 'Mæcenas' of Erasmus at this time (see Epistle 801), and to More in London the news of his completed journey and of the sickness which had followed it, and also some account of the work upon which he was engaged, including a revised edition of the New Testament in the original tongue, with his own Latin translation and notes. This edition was published in the summer or autumn of 1518.

EPISTLE 801. C. 1680 (284).

Erasmus to Peter Barbier.

I just reached Basel on Ascension day after a journey of some difficulty, especially on account of the heat. The New Testament is now being printed.

In this place and throughout all Germany a new sort of epidemic is rampant, which, with cough, head-ache, and severe pain in the stomach, is attacking a vast number of people,—killing many, but leaving the greater proportion of patients alive. I was myself seized ten days after my arrival, and have now been suffering severely for some days. I was so far advanced in my work, that I should have been free to leave this place within three months, had my health been sound; but we must yield to the Fates. If my excellent Mæcenas is well, and if you are well, I have reason to bear more calmly my own infelicity. Farewell.

I wrote some time ago both to you and to the Chancellor from Louvain, as you had so bidden me. I wish every happiness to Guy.*

Basel, the morrow of Trinity Sunday (31 May), 1518.†

On the same day Erasmus sends a few lines to More, of whom we have already read as a busy Minister in the Court of King Henry. See p. 342. Of the three copies of Erasmus's second edition of the

* Guy Morillon is mentioned in a previous letter of Erasmus to Barbier, as a crony (*congerro*) of his correspondent, in whose name he had written to Erasmus. See Epistle 759, pp. 303, 306.

† Basilea postridie Trinitatis, sive 1. Junii, Anno 1518. C. Trinity Sunday is the first Sunday after Whitsuntide, which in this year, with Easter day on the 4th of April, appears to have fallen on the 23rd of May. This would put Trinity Sunday on the 30th of May, and the morrow on the 31st. If this is right, we must reject the words, *sive 1. Junii*, as a mistaken explanation, probably added by the Leyden editor or his assistant.

New Testament, printed on vellum, which are mentioned in this letter, and for one of which Tunstall had given an order, I cannot give any further account. It is probable that the value of their material may have led to their demolition, while a paper copy was more convenient for use.

EPISTLE 802. C. 1680 (285).

Erasmus to More.

We just reached Basel on Ascension day after a journey of some difficulty on account of the heat,—arriving nevertheless without damage. But there is now raging throughout all Germany a new sort of epidemic,—in which the patient suffers from a cough, with such a head-ache at the same time as in some cases drives him to phrensy, and which is accompanied with dysentery. Some friends had written me word, that the disease was extinct, but I had an attack on the tenth day after my arrival, and have now been suffering from it for several days. Many persons have been killed by it, but more patients recover.

The New Testament work is proceeding. I have had three copies printed on vellum, for one of which Tunstall had given an order. If my health had only been good for two months, I should have brought the work to that point that it might have been finished in my absence; but we are driven by the Fates, and to the Fates we must yield. If the Powers above permit, we shall return to Brabant next September. The work nevertheless cannot be completed before the next Fair. Please let Tunstall know all this.

Basel, the morrow of Trinity (31 May), 1518.*

The Fair, at which Erasmus appears to have hoped that his second Edition of the New Testament would be ready for publication, was, we

* Basilea postridie Trinitatis, sive 1. Junii, Anno 1518. C. Upon this date see a note at the foot of the last preceding Epistle.

may presume, the Fair held at Frankfort in the month of September, of which we find mention, with a similar reference to the sale of books, in previous letters. See vol. ii. pp. 181, 205, 389. The second edition of this important work, which included the text in the original Greek, with a revised Latin translation and a Commentary by the editor, appears in fact to have been published by Froben towards the end of the autumn of 1518. It has, prefixed to it, a letter addressed by Pope Leo X. to Erasmus, and dated at Rome, 10 September, 1518, in which the Pontiff bestows his high approval upon the previous edition, and encourages the editor to extend and republish his work. The further history of this important publication is of no slight interest. Before a year had passed, a third edition was printed at Basel, and the work was also reprinted in the same year at Strasburg and at Venice. In March, 1519, it was again reprinted at Basel and also at Louvain; and during the following years was so often reprinted, that before Erasmus's death in June, 1536, more than seventy editions appear to have issued from the Press.*

Epistle 803, addressed to Wilibald Pirckheimer, in 1518 without date of month, is the somewhat tardy reply of Erasmus to Epistle 651, pp. 84-87, ascribed to the autumn of 1517, which included, p. 87, the invitation to Nuremberg mentioned at the close of the following letter. It appears by the opening words, that Pirckheimer's epistle had been in some way delayed in transmission.

EPISTLE 803. Farrago, p. 68; Ep. iv. 13. C. 384 (374).

Erasmus to Pirckheimer.†

I cannot tell by whose fault it is, that your more prolix epistle has come so late to my hands. That letter has made it clear to me, that Wilibald, of whose kindness, integrity and erudition I was fully aware before, is also endowed with singular prudence, and a greatness of mind which well becomes a man of no ordinary station.

I might easily obtain some fortune from Princes, if I were

* See *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, Ghent, 1893.

† Erasmus Roterodamus Bilibaldo suo S. D. *Farrago*.

not too fond of Liberty ; but everything seems dearly bought, which is purchased at the expense of that ; and content with the tiny provision which I have, further events will not disturb me, whether they bring me any gain or none at all. Would that I were not still poorer in that true wealth, with which you describe me to be blessed.

Of what you have been doing, you give such an account as quite carries me with you ; and it is characteristic of your politeness, that you even thank me for an admonition, which was rather bold than timely. Calling to mind, my Wilibald, the agitations and the plots of these people, while I still wonder what their meaning is, I am partly indignant and partly grieved at their blindness and folly. It is the creed of astrologers, that some plagues, of body as well as mind, are sent to us from the Stars, while the Poets derive them from the Regions below ! Homer throws the blame of such disturbances upon *Até*, and others attribute a like influence to the god Pan ; but the mischief, from whatever quarter it comes, is fatal.

Of the Circumcised gentleman I have no call to make any mention,* and deem it ominous even to name him. Neither can I say what has come into the head of Gratus, that he should think of putting his learning at the service of the folly, or rather the ambition, of certain persons, when he seems to be endowed with such a genius as, judiciously and rightly exerted, might have placed him in the ranks of learned and eloquent men. As it is, he is known only by one exploit, that he has fallen foul of Reuchlin and his friends, and to the voiceless ill-will of others appears to have contributed a mercenary advocacy.

How often have I wished to advise James Hochstraten not to risk upon this controversy the fruit of so many years'

* *de recutito non libet meminisse. Farrago.* The translator cannot give any further explanation.

study, or to lower the character which he holds among the learned by the pamphlets he is issuing. As I read them, the thought comes constantly into my head,—would you could see yourself with my eyes! But I am so far from any intimacy, that we do not even know each other by sight; and I can tell by experience, that even between friends, a free admonition is not always a success! I was therefore afraid, lest in interfering on behalf of his good name, I might be suspected of forwarding Reuchlin's business, with whom my personal relations are friendly, while I take no interest in his quarrel.

Hochstraten's character is proclaimed by some to be not wanting in civility, while others give a different account of him. I always prefer, myself, to believe the more favourable estimate; but, to confess the truth, when I had a taste of the man's writings, I was driven to adopt a less favourable opinion of him. He has several supporters to applaud him, and cry, 'Hear, Hear'; and from the judgment or flattery of these he estimates the opinion of the whole world!

* * * * *

My New Testament, again renewed, will soon be issued. Considerable labour has been spent upon it, but rather less than I intended, on account of my health, by the feeble condition of which we have to measure the day's work.†

My controversy with Lefèvre is as distressing to me as it is to you;‡ and that upon many accounts, especially when I think what a delightful story it makes for the enemies of Good Letters. But some pains shall be taken, and I hope not without success, to find a plaister to heal this wound. Lefèvre is dear to me after all; and I think he has some kind feeling left for me.

† ob ualeitudinis aduersitatem, ex cujus uiriculis pensi modum metiamur oportet. *Farrago.*

‡ See p. 87.

As for paying you a visit, my most honoured Wilibald, I should be glad if the doing of it were as easy as your kind wish for it is sincere. Farewell.

Basel, [June] 1518.*

We learn from the opening words of the following Epistle, that Gillis had written several letters to Erasmus since the latter had left the Low Countries. These letters do not appear to have been preserved.

EPISTLE 804. Farrago, p. 191; Ep. vii. 28; C. 462 (436).

Peter Gillis to Erasmus.

I see you are very busy indeed, as you have sent no answer to my last four letters. Not long since a courier arrived here with your letter to John Naef; Francis was away in England† when the man came; and the letter was at last brought to me with one from Froben, which I received with a very hearty welcome.

Borssele has obtained the Deanery, as they call it;‡ and as he was travelling this way to Zeeland, he paid a visit to us, and brought me the news of your arrival at Basel. This I was delighted to hear, and very naturally too, when every mention of you makes me jump for joy. I do beg, my Erasmus, that if any opportunity occurs, you will not be loth to send some sort of letter to your Pylades, as that is the name by which you fitly, and no less sincerely address me. I have been wondering not a little at your not having answered my letter already, especially as you have mean-

* Basileæ. Anno M.D.XVIII. *Farrago*. See, as to date, p. 415.

† Francis,—apparently a courier,—is mentioned again towards the end of the letter as having returned from England. Erasmus seems to have depended upon him to deliver in the proper quarter the letter addressed to Naef.

‡ Borssele was 'Dean' of Veer, in Zeeland, where the head of his family was lord. See vol. i, p. 175.

time written twice to Naef. Bade has been with us here, and we had a jovial time together; Lefèvre of Etaples was mentioned during supper; he is sorry to have ever provoked Erasmus, and is not going to answer before the Greek Calends. Paulus Æmilius has delivered the remaining books of his history to Bade for the press. I understand that Budé is making a collection of Epistles; no doubt he will have them published, for the admiration and improvement of all the learned. * * *

A dialogue,—I do not know by what author, but evidently a man of learning,—with the title of *Julius*, is for sale everywhere here.† Every one is buying it, every one is talking of it, and I shall very much like you to see it; but I have no doubt it is also for sale where you are.

The most illustrious Prince Ferdinand has auspiciously arrived here, accompanied by some of our nobility. I am told, that he is a person of agreeable and affable manners, of excellent character, and moreover a fluent Latin scholar.

Marcus Laurinus has passed some days with me. Our whole talk was of you, and he bade me give his kindest greeting to you. Sixtinus has sent me a letter. I hear no news of More. Francis, after coming from England, is going off to Paris. If Beatus Rhenanus is in the best of health, I send him my hearty congratulations.

My little wife, who is now near her confinement, sends you more than a thousand good wishes.

Antwerp, 19 June, [1518].‡

† For the history of the *Julius Exclusus*, unquestionably a work of Erasmus, see before p. 384, and in our vol. ii. pp. 446-449, 514, 610. This dialogue—an altercation between the deceased Pope Julius and St. Peter at the door of Paradise,—may be read in the Appendix to Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 600. The unsuspecting ignorance of Gillis about its authorship may perhaps have been assumed, to provide for the case of his letter falling into some other hand before its delivery to Erasmus.

‡ Antuuerpiæ, xix. Junij. *Furrago*.

The following letter of Erasmus to Paulus Bombasius, dated from Basel on the 26th of July, 1518, after Erasmus had been more than two months at that place, appears to have been written in answer to Epistle 704, addressed by Bombasius to Erasmus from Zurich on the 6th of December, 1517; see before, p. 174. In that letter will be found a friendly reference to the intercourse of the writer with Richard Pace, whose return to England and favourable reception by the King are mentioned in the following Epistle. The description here given of the English Court, and the estimate formed at that time by Erasmus of the character of Henry VIII. are of some interest. See pp. 421, 422. Not less so are his vague anticipations of a great revolution in European politics.

EPISTLE 805. Auctarium, p. 36; Ep. ii. 24; C. 401 (377).

Erasmus to Paulus Bombasius.

Yes indeed. To what place in the world should that martial, that fearless spirit of Bombasius betake itself more kindly than to Switzerland? Neither is there any fear of your being frozen here, as Trebatius was in Britain, when you have these stoves everywhere to keep you warm even in mid-winter. I had put off answering your letters, as I was quite reckoning upon meeting you in person, either at Rome or in Switzerland.

I have fallen in here with the Apostolic Legate, Antonio Pucci. He is a person to be valued for many excellent accomplishments, but he has no better title to my regard, than his hearty good-will to Bombasius. When he had transferred his quarters to Basel, he lost no time in sending his people to greet me, with an invitation to breakfast and a talk. To cut the story short, his other guests were my shadows,—I mean they were persons whom, being known and dear to me, he had invited on my account,—especially Beatus and the Amerbachs, who are likewise known to you. He has been himself, great person as he is, obliged to come

down into this grinding-mill, if he wanted to shake hands with Erasmus! But why, you will ask, should Erasmus give himself such airs? My answer is, that my apparent haughtiness and incivility were not intended, but the result of a grievous sickness, from which I have been suffering for more than a month, and which, after intervals of relief, has so repeatedly returned, that I have fetched the doctors in, which I do not often do, unless I am pretty well tired of life; but this illness still holds on, as if it were quite resolved to capture the fortress.

Pace, after his return to Switzerland, has often greeted me,—not with letters but with regular volumes. But we have not had the chance of a talk together, as he was soon recalled by his King to England. I do not wonder at your attachment to him,—like to like.* Among his own people, he is indescribably dear to all, especially to his gracious King, and to the incomparable Cardinal. You know, most excellent Bombasius, how I have always shrunk from the Courts of Princes, judging the life which is led there to be nothing but splendid misery, with a masquerade of happiness; but into such a Court as that one might well be pleased to remove, if youth could be recalled. The King, the most sensible monarch of our age,† is delighted with good books, and the Queen is well instructed,—not merely in comparison with her own sex,—and is no less to be respected for her piety than her erudition. With such sovereigns those persons have the greatest influence, who excel in learning and in prudence. Thomas Linacre is their physician, a man whom it is needless for me to characterize, when by his published books he has made himself sufficiently known. Cuthbert Tunstall is Master of the Rolls,

* It appears by the introduction to Pace's book, that it was by the approval of Bombasius that he had been encouraged to publish his little work, with which Erasmus was not so well pleased. See pp. 249, 250, 315.

† Rex, omnium quos habet hæc ætas cordatissimus.

an office which is of the highest dignity in that country, and when I name him, you cannot believe what a world of all good qualities is implied. Thomas More is one of the Council, the supreme delight, not of the Muses only, but of Pleasantry and of the Graces, of whose genius you have been able to gain some scent from his books. Pace, with a character near akin, is the King's Secretary; William, lord Mountjoy, is at the head of the Queen's household, and John Colet is the Preacher. I have only named the chief people. John Stokesley, who beside that scholastic Theology, in which he yields place to none, is also well versed in the Three Tongues, is one of the Chaplains. A palace filled with such men, may be called a Temple of the Muses rather than a Court. What Athens, what Porch, what Lyceum would you prefer to a Court like that?

Your congratulation about Lefèvre is as painful to me as our conflict was against my wishes. I should have been glad, indeed, if he had been more moderate in his attack. But so it is,—no one is always wise; and what is amiss in the matter may be imputed to my ill-luck. For what else could I do? Lefèvre is a man of high character, learned, humane, and moreover a friend of former days,—but of that happiness some evil Genius appears to have been jealous,—and even now my feeling for the man is such, that it will be very painful to me if anyone thinks worse of him on my account. Some persons, who find a pleasure in these duels, are spreading a rumour of recrimination; but between ourselves we are agreed, and we shall not allow so old and so sincere a friendship to be effaced by one little cloud of discord. If there was some bitterness between Barnabas and Paul,* what wonder if in the relations between *us* there is some human weakness?

How much credit is attributed to my writings by learned

* See Acts, xv. 39.

persons where you are, I do not know. Here it is certain that more is attributed to them than I can acknowledge, although there are some who bark loudly against them; but these are for the most part people, who either do not read what I have written, or will read it to no purpose, whatever it may be. Certainly if I were not encouraged by the fair judgment of so many excellent men, I should long ago have regretted the sleepless hours which I am employing to the best of my power in the furtherance of our common studies, principally of sacred subjects.

The rumours which are current about the Turks, are subject to general suspicion, because it has been so often found, that the oarsmen look in one direction while the boat is propelled in the other. In no case is the saying more true, τὰ πολλὰ τὰ πολέμου κενά.* But whatever is going on in your parts, I pray that it may turn out for the benefit of all, seeing that a great revolution in human affairs is being taken in hand, not without risk.†

You bring bitter news of Marcus Musurus and Palæotus; but these events lie in the lap of the gods. Faustus has died among the French, and Andrew Ammonius in Britain, of whom one had a long reign at Paris, and the other would have risen to the highest rank, if a longer life had been granted him. Do, I pray, take the best care you can of *your* health.

Basel, 26 July, 1518.‡

* Most war-budgets are empty,—most war news is unreliable.

† *Suscipitur enim ingens rerum humanarum commutatio non sine discrimine.*

‡ Basileæ, septimo Calend. Augusti, Anno M.D.XVIII. The date of year is consistent with the circumstances mentioned in the letter, the death of Ammonius having taken place in London, early in the autumn of 1517 (see p. 2), and that of Musurus later in the same autumn at Rome. (See *Epist.* 704, p. 176).

With the following interchange of letters dated in August, 1518, between Erasmus and Ulrich Zäsi (Udalricus Zasius), an elderly Professor of Law in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, we return to a correspondence, begun in our previous volume,* which is not without interest, as bearing upon the character of Erasmus, and the impression made by his manner and conversation upon those who were so fortunate as to become personally known to him. Zäsi appears to have been, upon Erasmus's request, introduced by Bruno Amerbach to the printer Froben; and we gather from the following Epistle of Zäsi to Erasmus, and from that written by Erasmus in reply, that Zäsi was proposing to publish a work, for the printing of which he desired to employ the Basel press. In an earlier Epistle to Zäsi, dated 23 September, 1514, Erasmus had deprecated the too complimentary tone of his correspondent's address;† and the opening clause of the following Epistle may well have given him the same impression, while it serves to show to the modern reader the profound respect with which Erasmus was regarded by an industrious literary contemporary.

EPISTLE 806. Auctarium, p. 203; Ep. iii. 38; C. 336 (328).

Zäsi to Erasmus.

Our Julian, great Erasmus, is right in judging those diplomatic questions to be not only difficult but insoluble, which will not admit of explanation except with a Sovereign.‡ For I often observe a like difficulty in myself, when I give up attempting to discuss a literary question with you, because I recognise that I have to do with a Prince of Learning, whom it is difficult, if not impossible, to meet on equal

* See our vol. ii. pp. 159, 161, 164, 230, 232.

† See vol. ii. p. 163.

‡ Recte Julianus noster, magne Erasme, impossibilia, non modo difficilia, judicat, quæ non nisi cum Principe explicari poterunt. For the word *impossibilia* we may perhaps be disposed to read *insolubilia*. It does not appear, who was the Julian, whose judgment is approved in the first line.

terms. Accordingly you must not think me guilty of any want of respect, because I have not hitherto addressed any letter to you. A prince is not lightly to be approached ; and although I was aware of many things, when I was in your company, and have met with many since, which furnished ample material for writing, still that first glance of your eyes and a certain dignity of gesture so affected my courage, that, although I had thought it fairly out beforehand how I should receive you, still when actually in your presence, I could scarcely move my lips, and pronounce in stuttering hesitation a few mutilated phrases. This first introduction having come off badly, nothing afterwards occurred to put me before you as the person you thought me to be. I had had some anticipation that this would be the case, but I wanted at any rate to see you, even if I marred in so doing a higher impression which you might have had of me. For I set more value upon a personal acquaintance with you, even with a depreciation of myself, than upon a higher opinion which you might falsely form of me in my absence. Your quiet movements, and eloquent words flowing like a stream from a living spring, your admirable politeness and gravity, resting upon a foundation of the most charming courtesy,—who is there that can fail to observe these qualities? who indeed would not desire to admire and enjoy them, even if it were at no little cost? You may form concerning me what opinion you please, for I must take my place somewhere ; but the life that I lead, the breath I breathe, seems for the first time to have become a profitable possession, since I have seen Erasmus,—that divine person,—than whom, since the time of Cicero and the Fabii, no age has possessed a more learned man, or one that would take precedence of him in divine and human knowledge and in admirable eloquence. To be censured by you with human sympathy I like better than to be praised by others, so long as you do not fail me,—so long as you let me remain among your clients. Farewell, and do

not withdraw your favour from Boniface,* a truly Erasmic man. To Beatus Rhenanus, a most accomplished friend, and to the Amerbachs (good heavens ! what excellent, what eloquent souls !) I wish every blessing.

Excuse my unpolished style. Embarrassed as I am by the sentences, which I have to forge for feudal uses, it may well be that for another kind of work I am not my own master.

Freiburg, 13 August, 1518.†

The following eulogistic Epistle, addressed to Zäsi in answer to the letter last printed, expresses the readiness of Erasmus to accept the friendship of his correspondent,—a person apparently of some importance in his own country, and not without influence at the Imperial Court, who was preparing to publish a work upon Feudal Law, and with whom Erasmus had lately had a personal interview.

EPISTLE 807. Auctarium, p. 205 ; Ep. iii. 39 ; C. 347 (330).

Erasmus to Zäsi.

In my correspondence with a person, best among the good, and most learned among the learned, I can come to no conclusion but this : that in your letter to me you are your true self, while you always make me unlike what I am, —great instead of small, happy instead of most unfortunate, and a very chieftain of Learning instead of a person having a trifling touch of literature,—to sum up with a Greek proverbial phrase, an Elephant in place of a Fly. And yet I am pleased with a likeness, in which I am magnificently

* Boniface must be taken, I presume, for Boniface Amerbach, who is also included with his brothers two lines below. The writer probably refers to something said about Boniface in a previous letter of Erasmus.

† Ex Friburgo, Idibus Augustiis. Anno m.p.xviii.

rather than aptly represented. It is as if some Apelles exhibited a fine portrait painted with the utmost skill, but not answering to the original,—for indeed there is no feature in it, which I can recognize as mine. But seeing that upon the character of Zäsi there falls no shadow of insincerity, I must allow you to indulge your love,—or your ingenuity,—provided that in your turn you let me observe that modesty, which habitually leads me in my relations with my friends to be more effusive of love than of compliments,—or, if the occasion should arise for praising them, to do so rather in the hearing of others than of themselves ; or, if after all it is to be done in their presence,—I prefer to do it in rather sparing terms.

But I beseech you, what is the loss of which you tell me? Although I had formerly thought very highly of Zäsi, my opinion of you has so risen since our interview, that I seem to myself to have been up to that time quite ignorant of your greatness. I had expected only a person learned in the Law, distinguished and admirable as such, and nothing more. But what is there in the mysteries of Theology or in the wrestlings of Theologians, which does not appear to have been thought out and examined by you? What part of Philosophy is there, in which you are not so versed that it might well seem to be the only part which you had studied? What book is there of any note, either of the ancient or of recent authors, which you have not looked into,—have not imbibed? And, indeed, I observe that those secrets which make a man wise and holy, have been the special objects of your study. Your command of language was shown by your letters, written as they were in a careless and more than extemporary way ; but I was not prepared for that rich and exuberant river of speech, ready to flow in any direction, whatever occasion might call for it, your language of conversation being a match for your written style. Who could fail to admire so vigorous an intellect, so ready and so

copious a memory, associated with a grey head? I shall not dwell upon your character, than which nothing can be more serious, more honest, or more sweet; so marvellously has the entire Zäsi been tempered by that best of artists, Philosophy. But I have begun, scarcely knowing where I was, to enter upon the field of your praises. I now repeat my prayer, that you will at length allow those finished lucubrations of yours to see the light. Permit this useful accession to the credit of Germany, to whom indeed the name of Zäsi is already well known, while it is worthy to be made known to the whole world, and to become an object of celebration and applause to Posterity. Whatever else appertains to this subject you will learn from Boniface Amerbach. Our own assistance shall be so given, where required, that you will clearly see that we are sincerely devoted to you.

Farewell, most learned Doctor and incomparable friend.

Basel, 23 August, 1518.*

Towards the end of August, 1518, the revision of Erasmus's work on the New Testament, with its renewed dedication to Pope Leo, appears to have been completed. The following letter was then addressed to the Pope's representative in the country where the work was to be published. This Epistle was probably sent from Basel to Bern, in which city, as a sort of Federal Capital of Switzerland, we may conjecture that the Papal Legate was residing. The letter,—which appears, from its concluding words, to have been written, wholly or in part, upon the landing-place at Basel, from whence the writer was preparing to embark on his journey to Louvain,—is of interest, as containing an apology for this most important work, for which, with the aid of his correspondent, he desired to obtain a Commendatory Brief from the Pope.

* Basileæ, decimo Cal. Septembres. An. M.D.XVIII.

EPISTLE 808. Farrago; Ep. v. 26; C. 348 (331).

Erasmus to Antonio Pucci, Legate Apostolic in Switzerland.

Most Reverend Father, I fear your Eminence* has long since in your own mind regarded Erasmus as guilty, not only of a want of politeness, but of signal ingratitude, when, having experienced such ready kindness at your hands, he fails to acknowledge his obligation even by a letter. But if you are aware what perils I have meantime been undergoing,—a cough which lasted more than a month having been followed by a most cruel diarrhoea,—while at the same time I was compelled to supply the material for the volume which I had in hand,—I am quite sure you will be further sorry, that I have so ample an excuse.

We had reached the period when it was time for me to think of putting the New Testament in form; † and now the Plague, breaking out all around, is driving us away before the completion of a work, in our zeal for which we have hitherto disregarded, not money only, but life itself,—so anxious was I, that the book, which I had once dedicated to the Tenth Leo,—might be made worthy of him. For the first edition did not satisfy me in every particular; although even that is approved by all the most accomplished and learned persons, an outcry having been raised against it only by a few sycophants, who were not men of learning, and had never read the book, and who, moreover, while they barked at it in his absence, had not a word to say against it in the presence of its compiler. It is now to go forth afresh, and if I am not mistaken, so completed as not to appear unworthy of Leo or of Posterity. It would be vain for me to tell,—as none would believe,—what exertions it has cost me; I trust it may be proportionately service-

* tua celsitudo.

† de condendo Novo Testamento.

able to the Christian Commonwealth, this being the only object we have had in view; to which end your Sublimity will be able to contribute no little assistance, if you will not deem it too much trouble to obtain some sort of Brief from the Pope, testifying that the work has his approval. In this way the mouth of those few sycophants will be closed.

The two Cardinals, by whom I presented the former edition to Pope Leo, had both written answers; one of which was addressed by Andrew Ammonius to this place, but was lost on its way; while the other, which Andrew kept in his own hands, has been lost with him. We have written a few days ago about this matter to Cardinal Grimani and to Paulus Bombasius.

To prevent any scruple arising in your mind, I will explain in a few words the plan of my work. Having first collated several copies made by Greek scribes, we followed that which appeared to be the most genuine; and having translated this into Latin, we placed our translation by the side of the Greek text, so that the reader might readily compare the two, the translation being so made, that it was our first study to preserve, as far as was permissible, the integrity of the Latin tongue without injury to the simplicity of the Apostolic language.*

Our next care was to provide, that any sentences, which had before given trouble to the reader, either by ambiguity or obscurity of language, or by faulty or unsuitable expressions, should be explained and made clear with as little deviation as possible from the words of the original, and none from the sense; as to which we do not depend upon any dreams of our own, but seek it out of the writings of

* These lines may be read as a brief apology for a new translation being offered to the reader, in substitution for the Vulgate in its original or a corrected form. Erasmus thought, that if the New Testament was to be translated afresh for the sake of greater accuracy, it might as well be also in more classical Latin.

Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, Cyprian, Ambrose, or Augustine. Some annotations were added (which have now been extended), wherein we inform the Reader, upon whose authority this or that matter rests, relying always upon the judgment of the old authors. We do not tear up the Vulgate Edition,—which is however of uncertain authorship, though it is ascertained not to be the work of either Cyprian or Ambrose or Hilary or Augustine or Jerome,—but we point out where it is depraved, giving warning in any case of flagrant error on the part of the translator, and explaining it, where the version is involved or obscure. If it is desirable, that we should have the Divine Books as free from error in their text as possible, this labour of mine not only corrects the mistakes which are found in copies of the Sacred Volumes, but prevents their being depraved in future; and if it is wished that they should be rightly understood, we have laid open more than six hundred passages,* which up to this time have not been understood even by great theologians. This they admit themselves, as indeed they cannot deny it. If to that controvertial Theology, which is almost too prevalent in the Schools, is to be added a knowledge of the original sources, it is to this result that our work especially leads. Therefore no kind of study is impeded by our labour, but all are aided.

Although we have translated throughout the reading of the Greek scribes, we still do not so approve it in every case, as not in some instances to prefer our own text, pointing out in every case, where the orthodox Latin writers agree or disagree with the Greek.† It may be added, that the

* *Plusquam sexcentos locos aperuimus.*

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variety of readings not only does not impede the study of the Sacred Scriptures, but even assists it according to the authority of St. Augustine ; neither indeed is this variety ever so important as to lead to the peril of the Christian faith.

To sum up the matter, I am either misled by the love of my work, or it is destined to perform an important service to sacred studies, and to secure for the Tenth Leo no small honour in another generation, when Envy shall be still, and the utility of the result shall be recognized ; which will be both fuller and more mature, if the approbation of the Supreme Shepherd is added. This approbation I desire only to show, that he is pleased with the work on account of the service it may render to sacred studies ; and for my dedication of the book to him I ask no further reward. Some other men might expect a present, or solicit a benefice ; I, who have taken so much pains to be of service, shall think that I have received an ample return, if that result shall come to pass, for the sake of which I have undertaken so many watches. Your Eminence will secure this object by two words, and in so doing will do what will be pleasing to Christ himself, and also to all students,—and especially agreeable to Froben, who may make this claim, that there is no printing-press to which Sacred Literature is more indebted than to his.

The printing will be finished within three months, and if the Brief be sent hither meantime, it may be prefixed to the work. I do earnestly beg you to let me enjoy your help in this matter ; I will promise in return, that all coming centuries of the learned shall know that they are debtors to Pucci.

I pray for every blessing on the Cardinal of Sion,* whose

* The Cardinal of Sion was known to Erasmus in October, 1516. See vol. ii. p. 411.

dignity and merits will soon, I hope, be regarded by Providence with a favourable eye.

Farewell, and excuse a hasty letter, which we have been writing at the last moment, just as we are going to embark.*

Basel, 26 August, 1518.†

On the same day Erasmus found time to write a few lines to Oswald, a young Swiss scholar, who in November, 1516, had been a pupil of Glarean at Basel,‡ and who appears shortly before this time to have ventured to write a letter to Erasmus.

EPISTLE 809. Auctarium, p. 202 ; Ep. iii. 37 :
C. 349 (332).

Erasmus to Oswald.

Most sincere friend, your letter was indeed most welcome to me ; and though I send you a contracted reply, I have still the most ample love for my Oswald, whether because he has such a regard for me, or because he has been a Theseus, or something more attached than a Theseus, to my Glarean.

Continue, my Oswald, to claim for your Switzerland, which has been so long distinguished in Arms, a like distinction in Letters. For ourselves, we are being driven away by Plague. A plague on it, say I most heartily. Farewell.

Basel, 26 August, 1518.§

The following letter, addressed to Boniface Amerbach, and dated five days later than the two last Epistles, is of interest as containing

* scripsimus in ipso procinctu jam ingressuri navem.

† Basileæ vii. Calendas Septembres, Anno M.D.XVIII.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 434.

§ Basilea, 26. Augusti, Anno 1518. C.

a short résumé by Erasmus of the history of the revival of Learning in his day. This retrospect naturally led to the question, how far the science of Theology had shared in the general revival.

EPISTLE 810. Ep. xv. 17 ; C. 349 (333).

Erasmus to Boniface Amerbach.

It is a great part of happiness, and the greatest part of gratitude, if a man recognizes the blessings which he enjoys. We are bound accordingly to congratulate our own age, and to thank the Powers above, to whose goodness it is due,—that noble studies, for so many ages almost buried, are again in blossom over the whole world, and are propagated with the greatest success. Some eighty years ago not a voice was heard of the professors of those accomplishments, which Virgil,—even in his days, when learned eloquence was most flourishing,—called mute ; and not only so, but Grammar herself, the Mistress of correct utterance, and Rhetoric, the guide of copious and splendid diction, were heard only in mean and wretched stutterings ; and those arts, which had formerly found expression in so many tongues, spoke only in Latin, and that of the worst. Afterwards, as by slow degrees better Letters began to grow, it was Italy alone that possessed a tongue ; and even there the only teaching was oratorical. Nowadays in all the nations under Christian sway, provided that the Muses are favorable, Learning of every kind is uniting the majesty of Eloquence with the utility of Erudition. Medicine has begun to make herself heard in Italy by the voice of Nicolas Leonicensus, an old man worthy of immortality, and among the French by William Cop of Basel ; while among the Britons, thanks to the studies of Thomas Linacre, Galen has begun to be so eloquent and instructive, that even in his own tongue he may seem to be less so. By the same scholar's aid Aristotle

so discourses in Latin, that, Athenian as he is, he scarcely moves so gracefully in his own language; while, even before his work, Argyropylus, Trapezuntius, Theodore Gaza, Marsilius, and Picus amongst the Italians, and Lefèvre of Étaples among the French, had prevented Philosophy from appearing mute. We may add that the Cæsarean Laws have had their pristine elegance happily restored, in France by William Budé, and among the Germans by Ulrich Zäsi,* an incomparable man in every way, and abounding with such a wealth of Roman diction, that you might think you were listening,—not to a lawyer of our days, but to an Ulpian.

The same success, I know not how, does not attend the Theologians, though there is no lack of persons who are delighted to have their say. But I still hope it will soon come to pass, that this profession, like the rest, will get rid of its rust, and lay fair claim to the brightness it once possessed. It has been hitherto the case, that those scholars whose language was at all polished were excluded from the ranks of the learned, into which the Professors did not consider any to be worthy of admission but those, who spoke in the same base dialect as themselves, and had never laid their fingers upon any fragment of chaster literature,—that rebuff being always ready, “he is a Grammarian, not a Philosopher,” or “a Rhetorician, not a Lawyer,” or “an Orator, not a Theologian.” But before long, if I am not mistaken, things will take another turn, and no one will be received into the ranks, but he who by the superior elegance of his writings shall recall those ancient authors of systems of Learning; no one will have a right to claim to be a wise teacher, unless he has a share of that eloquence, which St. Augustine desires never to be parted from his Mistress.

* Ulrich Zäsi was a Professor at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, and author of a book *De Origine Juris*. See before in this volume, p. 393, and Epistles 606 and 807; and in vol. ii. pp. 159, 164.

The Annotations of Zäsi I ran through rather than read, brought to me as they were, when I was already packed up for my journey. But I was marvellously pleased with the taste I had, and do not doubt that the whole work will give me still more pleasure, if I am allowed to have a full meal of such dainties. You must urge the man, my Boniface, not to grudge us this privilege any longer, unless the grudging is on your own part too, as you have the advantage of enjoying the companionship of Zäsi at home.

Basel, 31 August, 1518.*

The New Testament in Greek and Latin, as finally edited by Erasmus, is reprinted as the sixth volume of the Leyden edition of the *Opera Erasmi*. The following short letter or Brief, addressed to Erasmus, and dated at St. Peter's in Rome under the Fisherman's Ring (*sub annulo Piscatoris*), 10 September, 1518, expresses the Papal approval of the work, and is included in the later editions as part of its Preface.

EPISTLE 811. Ep. xxix. 80; *Opera Erasmi*, tom. vi.
in Præfatione.

*To our beloved Son, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Professor of
Sacred Theology, Leo X. Pope.*

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction. We were greatly pleased by thy Lucubrations upon the New Testament already published, not so much because they were dedicated to Our Name, as because they were distinguished by erudition of no common kind, and most highly commended by the vote of all the Learned. Having been now informed, that this work has been lately revised by thee, and illustrated with many additional annotations, We have been again no little pleased, making conjecture

* Basileæ, pridie Calend. Septemb. Anno m. d. xviii.

from that first edition, which seemed most perfect, what this new edition will be, and what a benefit it will confer upon the students of Sacred Theology, and upon our Orthodox Faith. Persevere therefore in thy intention, and having the public good still in view, continue to devote thy care to bring to completion so holy a work, for which thou mayest receive, as We trust, from on High a reward worthy of such labours, from Us deserved commendation, and from all faithful disciples of Christ perpetual praise.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, this tenth day of September, M.D.XVIII. in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

CHAPTER LIII.

Residence of Erasmus at Louvain, October to December, 1518; Epistle of Paulus Bombasius to Erasmus, dated from the Apostolic Palace at Rome, 1 October; of Erasmus to Budé, to Mutianus Rufus, to Eschenveld, to Werter, and to Gerbel, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20 October; to Pace, after his return to England, 22 October; to one Athyroglothus, 7 December; to Paulus Bombasius, 13 December; to Ecolampadius, the Cardinal de Croy, Glarean, Barbier, More and Pirckheimer; Epistle of Gillis to Erasmus, 19 June; of Erasmus to Bombasius, 26 July, 1518; Works of St. Jerome edited and printed by the brothers Amerbach. Epistles 812 to 823.

Paulus Bombasius, of whom we have last heard in the preceding December as being at Zurich in Switzerland, in attendance upon the Papal Nuncio (see before, pp. 174, 176), had since that time returned to Rome, where he appears to have been busy in the Libraries, and also intimate at the Papal Court. The following letter, dated from the Apostolic Palace, throws some light upon the circumstances in which Pope Leo was then living. In the first clause the writer acknowledges the receipt of a letter of Erasmus, which does not appear to have been preserved.

EPISTLE 812. Farrago; Ep. xi. 4; C. 351 (335).

Paulus Bombasius to Erasmus.

Your letter, dated the 18th of August, but not delivered before the 12th of September, has given the greatest possible

pleasure to me,—being by some fatality so attached to you, that I am delighted if it is only to meet with your name, and much more to receive any communication from you,—a privilege for which I have often longed, but have been ashamed to beg, lest by occupying your time ‘I may sin,’ as Flaccus says, ‘against the public interest,’ † to which you have so strenuously and successfully devoted yourself.

* * * * *

It has been no surprise to me, that you have declined the invitations of Kings and Princes, and preferred to betake yourself to Basel for the purpose of remodelling your New Testament ; knowing, as I do, that Erasmus has never set much store upon any other object compared with his duty to Letters. I only wish you had been so engaged, when I was at Basel myself ; I should have been as happy as mortal can be, and Rome would not have been able so easily to recall me.

For obtaining a Papal Brief, which may serve as a favorable judgment upon your work, it was not George or Mark ‡ that should have been asked,—of whom the latter has long been away from the City, and the former had gone for his autumn absence a few days before,—when you have at your service my friend, the Cardinal of Quattro Santi, a generous patron of all learned persons, and a special master and judge in matters of this kind. This prelate, having been informed by me of your wish, gave his approval to the draft brief which I had prepared, and when it had been transcribed on parchment, sent it to Pope Leo,—who had left the city two days before,—for his judgment, and if approved, for his

† In publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.

HORAT. *Epist.* II. i. 3.

‡ We may presume George Haloin and Marcus Laurinus.

signature. But do look, I pray you, and recognize in these circumstances your own ill luck, unless you had rather it should be called mine. A young French scholar named Silvius, who represented himself as devoted to you, was going to the Pope with a letter of commendation from my Cardinal, intending, as he said, to return the following day. I accordingly, not expecting to have at my service any fitter person to whom such a business might be entrusted, con-signed the Brief to him, and wrote a letter to the Pope's Secretary, in which I asked him in the Cardinal's name to send back without delay, by the same Silvius, the Brief countersigned. This Silvius, being in a feverish condition, and hindered, as I suspect, by sickness in his journey, found some other means of sending on the Brief and Letter commendatory to the Papal Secretary; and the latter without any delay handed them to the Pontiff, who having seen and signed the Brief, and read the Letter, gave orders that the person so commended should be called to his presence, and, when he did not appear, directed that diligent search should be made for him; but up to this time he has been nowhere found!

I myself, having hoped that the business would be very soon completed, when I saw nothing done, after the lapse of several days wrote again to the Secretary, charging him with negligence, and even with unfairness, in sending every hour innumerable briefs to the City, and keeping that of Erasmus so long back.

* * * * *

This Brief, after a long search, having been nowhere found, I have had another copy prepared, which unless some demon intercepts it, will reach you at last.

* * * * *

I am glad that your letter, in which you answered mine, has been printed, and my name has thereby acquired some reputation; provided that my own letter be not added,

which, as far as I can remember, was scarcely worthy of being read once by a friend, and not fit to be brought into comparison with any ordinary letter of yours, not to speak of one of your best.*

Lascaris is now occupied in France, and consequently I have had no chance of meeting him. If any such opportunity as you speak of should occur, I will do my best to further your wish and his convenience. From the literary profession I have been called away, not so much by my own choice, nor, as you suspect, by a better fortune, but by that uncertain course of accidents to which most of the events of one's life, both bad and good, are due.

The two Boeri are settled at Rome, and return your greeting;† Bernard has had a mild attack of Quartan Fever, and was threatening to go off to Genoa. I suppose the Legate Pucci has already left your parts,‡ and is making his journey towards Rome, and on that account I do not address the brief itself to him, but to Protonotary Caracciola, the Pope's Legate at the Court of the Emperor, trusting that he will not be wanting in kindness or diligence, in forwarding it to you.

Farewell, my Erasmus, and salute in my name Beatus and Amerbach, and our other learned friends who may be within your reach.

The Apostolic Palace, Rome, 1 October, 1518.§

* Both the Epistles here referred to, that of Bombasius to Erasmus, Epistle 704, and that of Erasmus in reply, Epistle 805, were printed in the *Auctarium Epistolarum* in August, 1518. See in this volume, pp. 174, 401.

† It may be remembered, that John Baptist Boerio was an Italian physician, residing at the English Court, whose two sons, John and Bernard, were placed under Erasmus's charge on their journey to Italy in 1506. See our vol. i. pp. 28, 411, 426; vol. ii. p. 76.

‡ Antonio Pucci, the 'Apostolic Legate' in Switzerland, is addressed by Erasmus in Epistle 808. See before p. 429.

§ Roma ex palatio Apostolico, Cal. Octob. M. D. xviii.

The 'prolix epistle' of Budé, the receipt of which is acknowledged in the first words of the following short note, was Epistle 770, a long letter dated at Paris, 12 April, 1518, which has been translated, with some omissions, at the end of our Chapter XLIX. In the prefatory words with which Erasmus acknowledges its receipt, we find him putting at once to himself and his correspondent the question, whether it should take its place in the next series of published Epistles. It was not included with the following Epistle in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of 1519, but is found in the later collection entitled *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, printed by Froben in 1521.

EPISTLE 813. Farrago; Ep. iii. 53; C. 352 (336).

Erasmus to Budé.

I received on the first of September that prolix epistle of yours, written on the 12th of April, and brought back from Genoa; but its contents are such, that I know not whether it would not be better for the credit of both of us, that it should be suppressed. I seem to myself to have detected the special disposition of your character,* and do not doubt but what you there say is sincere; but I am afraid I could not persuade others to believe it; and what will be thought, if those sentences of yours should reach Posterity? The letter was read to me after supper, as my eyesight is beginning to fail, by Beatus Rhenanus, a learned and wonderfully clear-headed man, with that healthy good sense, which is so important in a student. There is no occasion to repeat what judgment he formed, though he had been forewarned by me of your disposition to indulge with more than usual freedom in familiar jests. To vie with any one in abuse is not worthy of a man; to contend in scoffing terms is what one would not willingly do. But in substantial argument I

* Videor mihi peculiarem ingenii tui sensum deprehendisse.

would gladly be as superior, as you are victorious in the apparatus of discourse, by the judgment of Deloin and Ruzé, or of any of your greatest partisans. But after all I had rather have one Budé for a friend, than ten such victories. One *Apologia** is more than enough!

At Basel I was almost always ill, and had got better in the journey; but after passing Cologne I fell back again to the lowest level, and up to the present time I keep to the house. The surgeon, after inspecting three ulcers, has pronounced it plague, but I think he is wrong.

I will write to the Bishop; and also to you at greater length. Give my salutation to Glarean, if you happen to see him. His last letter has also been received. Farewell.

Louvain, 15 October, 1518.†

Erasmus's friend, Glarean, had some months before this time, been appointed Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Paris, and this appointment is mentioned in Budé's epistle. See p. 335. The letter of Glarean, of which we read in the last words of that of Erasmus, does not appear to have survived.

The following short letter, addressed to Mutianus Rufus, 'most consummate Master in every kind of Learning,' bears date at Louvain two days after the above note to Budé. A letter, lately received by Erasmus from Mutianus, had been accompanied by a present,—apparently of money, which was accepted with some hesitation.

EPISTLE 814. Merula, p. 83; Ep. xxx. 4; C. 352 (337).

Erasmus to Mutianus Rufus.‡

Our friend Eobanus came to see me at an inconvenient season, when I was both out of health and very much

* One such work as the *Apologia ad Fabrum*. See p. 5 of this volume.

† Lovanii Idus Octobris, An. M.D.xviii.

‡ Cl. D. Mutiano Rufo, viro omni doctrinæ genere consummatissimo.

occupied. If it had been otherwise, nothing was ever more welcome to me. *Ω φίλαι Μοῦσαι, what an outpouring of verse, what a vein of poetry, what felicity of language! You might well say, a Poet born, not taught. The same Minerva shows herself in his prose. His manners again are just those which I like to see in a Divine. Happy is Germany to possess such a man, and Erfurt happiest of all, if she knows her own good fortune!

I was delighted too by the brightness of *your* letter, reflecting the brightness of your mind. The present I long refused, until I understood that it came from you. I have appended a list of my trifles,* though I scarcely recollect, myself, what follies I have committed. Farewell.

Louvain, 17 October, 1518.†

The following Epistle is addressed to Christopher Eschenveld, whose surname in the course of the letter is latinized as Cinicampianus, (*Anglice*, Ashfield, Field of Ashes or Cinders). This correspondent appears to have been a Custom-house officer, stationed at the border-town of Boppard,—on the Eastern bank of the Rhine, some ten miles south of Coblenz,—who was scholar enough to appreciate the literary productions of Erasmus.

EPISTLE 815. Farrago ; Ep. iv. 5 ; C. 353 (339).

Erasmus to Christopher Eschenveld.‡

What has ever occurred to me so far beyond all hope, as to find Eschenveld, with all his zeal for my service, still at

* Nugarum mearum indicem subtexui. This list or 'index' was printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain, 1 Jan. 1519, with the title of *Lucubrationum Erasmi Roterdami Index*.

† Lovanii, 16. Cal. Novembr. M.D.xviii.

‡ Christophoro Eschenveldio, telonæ Popardiensi.

Boppard? Yes indeed, a custom-house officer, devoted to the Muses and to honorable studies! It was said by way of rebuke to the Pharisees, that the Publicans and the harlots would go before them into the kingdom of Heaven. Is it not just as unbecoming now, that Priests and Monks are living in greedy luxury and idleness, while our Tax-collectors are embracing sound literature? *They* are devoting themselves to gluttony, while Eschenveld* divides his attention between Cæsar and study. You made it plain enough, what opinion you had conceived of us; and I am nobly treated, if a nearer view has not in any degree lowered that opinion.

But only think, how delighted our skipper's wife was with that reddish wine, so that it took many a call to induce her to pass on the vessel. She poured down more than enough, and before long it came to blows, when she nearly killed the maid with those great shells, the quarrel between them not being easily composed. She soon after went on deck, and marched upon her husband; and there was some risk of her pushing him headlong into the Rhine. You know now, what your wine is capable of doing!

You will learn the tragic story of my woes from my letter to Beatus, if you find time to read it.

Farewell, my very dear friend. Convey my salutation to Joannes Flaminius, a man of learning, and of true Christian purity.

Louvain, 19 October, 1518.†

Another short Epistle was addressed on the same day to a correspondent, who is not otherwise known to us. But we may infer from the terms of Erasmus's letter, that he was a German scholar of good

* Cinicampianus.

† Lovanii, decimo quarto Calend. Novembres. An. m.d.xviii.

position, who, without laying claim to any former acquaintance with Erasmus, had written a letter to him, which does not appear to have survived, expressing the hope of becoming personally known to him, and of receiving meantime a letter from him.

EPISTLE 816. Farrago ; Ep. iv. 3 ; C. 353 (340).

Erasmus to John Werter.

I have hitherto reckoned the Germans as unconquered, but only in arms ; I now see, that there is nothing in which they are not unconquered, when you are able to extort from Erasmus,—sickly as he is, and almost utterly exhausted by the labour of writing,—a further not indispensable letter !

I cannot find words to express, how gratified I am by your kind feeling for me, and I only wish I were at liberty to meet you in like fashion. But I deem it more philosophical to encounter one's friends with moderated feelings, and to stand by them in attentions suited to the occasion, than to load them with unnecessary professions. When a friend's good name is in danger, when he is suffering from sickness, when he is in want of money, or otherwise in evil plight, then is the occasion to show your friendship, to cure if possible what is amiss, and if not, to soothe the annoyance by speech or letter. Indeed, what sort of kindness is that, which gives trouble to the friend who offers it, and does no good at all to the person to whom it is offered ? In that way some people claim credit with St. James,* that they have been to do him honour, much to their own cost ; or claim credit with Christ, that they have at a great risk visited Jerusalem, when it was open for either of them to earn His favour by attending to more genuine duties at home. You

* By the popular pilgrimage to Compostella, where the bones of St. James were believed to lie beneath the floor of the Cathedral.

had long ago seen a better likeness of Erasmus in his books, if any such likeness there be ; or rather, to use Plato's figure, you had there seen the whole of him. What then was left to be sought by such lengthened journeys? True love has its abode in the mind, and is often rather dispelled or lessened by a bodily meeting. But I should be inhuman, if I were really displeased with you, who deserve to be loved for this very reason, that you cannot help loving. Farewell.

Louvain, 19 October, 1518.*

We have met before with Dr. Nicolas Gerbel, as a scholar who assisted in the production of the learned works printed at the press of Schürer of Strasburg, to which town we may assume the following *Epistle* to have been addressed. See our vol. ii. p. 211, and in this volume, p. 311, and note there. In the address of the following letter he is styled, ' Doctor of Pontifical Law.'

EPISTLE 817. Farrago ; Ep. iv. 4 ; C. 354 (341).

Erasmus to Nicolas Gerbel.†

Most learned Gerbel, how signally and how arbitrarily have I been treated by my Evil Genius this year ! You will be acquainted with the sad story of my woes by my letter to Beatus Rhenanus. I am still confined to the house in the hands of the Surgeons. Better health will be granted by Christ, when we deserve it, or rather when he deigns to give it. For ourselves,—in such evil circumstances we have still retained a mind unbroken. I shall be glad indeed to hear that my Schürer has recovered his health.

* Lovanij xliii. Calendas Novembris, Anno M.D.xviii.

† Erasmus Roterodamus Nicolao Gerbelio, Juris Pontificii Doctori.

You will give my greeting to the whole party, but in the first place to Sturm, and then to Gebwiler and Rudolfing,* who with their usual kindness would have me to be their *guest* at the Inn, as if it were not enough for them to have given me the honour and pleasure of their company.

I think you know already, that Bruno Amerbach has obtained the object which he embraces in his dreams.† And I pray, that for you too the affair, which has been happily begun, may be most happily concluded. Take the pains to salute my new friend, Bathodius. In this respect I grow richer every day. We have had a visit from Helius Eobanus, a brilliant man, who in his poems recalls the facility of Ovid, and in his prose maintains his own character. He had come from Erfurt for no other purpose but to see Erasmus; I approve the kind spirit that this shows, though I do not approve the act, which imposes a burden upon the doer without any benefit to the person for whom it is done.

The air here is still healthy; a few persons have been sick, but the disease has been brought in from elsewhere.

Farewell, most learned Gerbel, and love your Erasmus; believe me, the affection will be mutual.

Louvain, 20 October, 1518.‡

* Sturm is described in Epistle 584 (vol. ii. p. 591), as one of the household of Henry Count Palatine; and Rudolfing is mentioned in Gerbel's letter to Erasmus, dated at Strasburg, 21 June, 1516, as being then at that place. See our vol. ii. p. 238.

† We read in Erasmus's Preface to his edition of the works of St. Augustine, addressed to Alfonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, and dated at Freiburg in Breisgau, 1529 (which Preface is reprinted among his Epistles, as Epistle 1084, *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 1243), that John Amerbach, who had printed the works of St. Augustine, was preparing, when he died, to bring out an edition of the entire works of St. Jerome, and that he left this publication as a duty to be performed by his three sons, Bruno, Basel, and Boniface, by whom it was faithfully and skilfully completed.

‡ Lovanij. xiii. Calend. Novembr. Anno MD.XVIII.

It appears from the following letter, that Richard Pace, in whose charge Erasmus had left some of his papers at Constance in Switzerland (see p. 133), had returned to England, where he had now been residing for several months. This letter of Erasmus has some interest as indicating, that the writer was at this time disposed to settle in England, if suitably pressed to do so.

EPISTLE 818. Farrago ; Ep. x. 26 ; C. 354 (342).

Erasmus to Richard Pace.

All this year has to me been black indeed ; may it please Christ that brighter years may follow ! The Iliad of my woes you will know in part from my letter to Beatus, of which I sent a copy to Tunstall.* I have long been in gaping expectation for the return of your library, and am sadly afraid our trifles have been lost.†

Your book is read with avidity by the Germans, while at the same time it offends some of those of Constance, because you seem to discredit their learning, while you attribute to them a love of drink !

I had made up my mind to visit you this autumn with the intention of embracing what is offered to me, without any solicitation, by the King's liberality.‡ Now that the Chancellor§ is no more, there is no reason for me to hope for anything from my countrymen ; and I have no fancy to accept any fresh hospitality in France. If I could have the addition which the King offers, I would ask for nothing more.||

* See Epistle 707, pp. 181-184.

† *misereque metuo ne nostræ nugæ perierint.* Erasmus had entrusted some of the books or papers, which he had with him in Switzerland, to the care of Pace. See before, p. 292.

‡ King Henry VIII. See pp. 342, 367.

§ John le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy. See vol. ii. pp. 304, 404.

|| *Si accederet quod offert Rex, nihil ambirem præterea.*

Linacre's Translation of Galen is at last on sale here; and I am extremely pleased with it. From this time forth even the Medical profession may be adopted with satisfaction.*

The question of Tithes in Germany is a disagreeable one. These inventive Midases have a singular talent for extending the short cable.†

Farewell, most learned Pace. Salute Linacre in my name, and spur him on to publish the rest of his lucubrations.

Louvain, 22 October, 1518.‡

In the address of the following Epistle,—inserted, we may presume, upon its publication,—*Erasmus cuidam άθυρογλώττη*,—‘Erasmus to one whose tongue has no door to shut it,’ the writer conceals the name of his correspondent, while he indicates the character which he attributes to him. The reference to ‘the Abbot’ (towards the end of the letter) may perhaps point to the monastery of St. Bertin, as the place where they had once been known to each other. This old acquaintance appears to have lately been a disappointed Candidate for a Professorship, in the disposal of which the advice of Erasmus had been asked, and to have written an angry letter complaining of the failure of Erasmus to procure the nomination for him. The date placed at the end of the reply of Erasmus, as it was printed in 1521 among the *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, is the Eve of the Conception of the Virgin Mother; to which in the London edition is added the year-date, 1518. The festival so named was celebrated at Rome on the 8th of December. The year-date, which is here adopted from the London edition, is probably conjectural.

* *Posthac et Medicum fieri iuvat.* Erasmus appears to have thought, that until the Medical students of his day had learned to make use of the science which had been left by the Ancients, and which Linacre was making accessible to them, it was not a profession worth pursuing.

† *Εγρεγίε τείνουσι τὰ καλῶδιον οὔτοι πολυμήχανοι Μίδαί.* Tithes, in the hands of the Government or of a wealthy layman, might well become a greater burden to the peasant, than in those of a poor curate.

‡ *Louanii, xi. Calend. Novem. MD.XVIII.*

EPISTLE 819. Ep. ad div. 513; Ep. xiii. 26; C. 358 (346).

*Erasmus to one Athyroglottus.**

I should never have formed so ill an opinion of you, if you had not made such an open display of your own character. I told you over and over again,—as the fact is,—that the matter has not been in my hands, and that when you spoke to me about the Professorship, it was no longer an open question. But suppose,—as was not the case,—that the Executors entrusted the whole affair to my discretion, and that I passed you over and preferred Goclen as more suitable for the place; what reason is there for your being so furious against me, as if I had cut the throat of your most venerated kinsman? Your conduct does not greatly concern me, but I am sorry for you. Had there been any hope, I should not have failed in my part; but I knew the executors were not at all in your favour, even if you had added twelve Pounds to the endowment out of your own pocket, though I said nothing about that, for what occasion was there to do so? Take my word for it, by that ill temper of yours you turn many friends into foes. Men are willing to be attracted, but not to be driven. I venture to say, it is this character which makes the Abbot so little disposed to have any dealings with you. I have not myself, I think, hitherto deserved ill of you, if I have not been a useful friend; and even now I give you this advice: Be more wise in future, and wise in your own interest. There is very little in which you can do me any harm.

Antwerp, the Eve of the Conception of the Virgin Mother (7 Dec.), 1518.†

* Erasmus cuidam ἀθυρογλόττῳ. To one that has no door to his tongue, or whose tongue has no door to close it.

† Antuerpiæ pridie Conceptæ Virginis Matris. Anno MD.XVIII.

The following Epistle is addressed to Paulus Bombasius, who at the beginning of the preceding October had written a letter to Erasmus, dated from the Apostolic Palace at Rome. See Epistle 812.

EPISTLE 820. Farrago ; Ep. xi. 5 ; C. 358 (347).

Erasmus to Paulus Bombasius.

Oh heart for Muses and Graces born ! You overwhelm me with so many acts of kindness, that I am ashamed to be so often expressing my thanks only by words, when no new formula occurs in which I can do so !

To the Cardinal of Quattro Santi I am all the more indebted, the less I have done to deserve any favour from his Eminence.* Marino Caraciola, Legate Apostolic at the Emperor's Court, has devoted the greatest care to the matter, having in addition sent me a most loving letter of his own. The first copy was intercepted ; I wonder by whom, for I cannot see to whom a letter of this kind could be of interest, except the person to whom it is addressed ; it would be a different thing, if it were some rich bishopric, or other splendid preferment, that was in question.

I am vexed to think, that, busy as you are, you have had so much trouble on my account ; and yet I am pleased too, because by these incidents I am every day more convinced of the sincerity of your friendship. I wish our neighbourhood here had only a few Bombasios. Who ever loved a friend, however excellent he might be, more sincerely or with more constancy than you love Erasmus, a humble individual from whom you can expect no return for your services,—and this when you are yourself so much more learned as well as more fortunate than he.

* See the letter of Bombasius, Epistle 812.

I cannot guess who that Frenchman is, who, you say, has disappeared ; unless perhaps it is Christopher Longueil,* a young man, as I judge from his writings, framed for every accomplishment as well as for eloquence. If I am not mistaken, he is one of those who will soon throw the name of Erasmus into the shade ; but this thought leaves a pleasant impression on my mind, when what is a loss to my name is a gain to the Commonwealth of Letters.

I wonder what has been able to tear John Lascaris from Rome, especially while Leo presides there over business and study.† Pray greet the brothers Boeri in my name.

Your letter did not find me at Basel ; neither at that time was Antonio Pucci, the Pope's Legate, there. I had however written to him about that business, while he was staying at Zurich ; for as to my getting at him,—although he very much wished it, and I had almost undertaken to do so,—neither my state of health, which did not as yet allow me to mount a horse, nor my literary engagements permitted it.

The journey by water was not without its inconveniences, but by degrees I grew stronger, and after staying very pleasantly some five days with the illustrious Hermann, Count of Nuenar,‡ I was so satisfied with myself, that I seemed quite recovered. It was not long however before I had such a relapse, that I was carried only half alive into Louvain. This may have been due, either to the pestilential winds, which were then blowing with the greatest violence,

* Gallus iste quem scribis evanuisse, nisi forte Christophorus est Longolius.

† Of John (or Janus) Lascaris, some account may be found in our first volume, p. 440. It appears from the letter of Bombasio, Epistle 812, dated at Rome, 1 October, 1518, that Lascaris was then in France. See before, p. 422.

‡ The visit paid by Erasmus to Count Hermann of Nuenar may probably have been at some country residence or parsonage to the South of Cologne,—where the Count had a Canonry at the Cathedral. Erasmus appears to have made his journey through that city after his five days visit to the Count. See our vol. ii. pp. 308, 309.

or to my own folly in venturing to travel through the middle of Cologne, which was at that time in a lamentable condition. One surgeon after another insisted that it was the Plague, and I cannot deny that three carbuncles were discharged. I did not choose to be an invalid, and did not myself believe it to be the Plague, and it was well I did not. At any rate I am well now, thanks to the Higher Powers, but in ill accord with the prayers of those who do not like to see the general revival of better studies. Farewell.

Louvain, 13 December, 1518.*

Ioannes Œcolampadius, or Johann Hausschein, had been introduced to Erasmus at Basel in September, 1515, by a letter of Ioannes Sapidus. Vol. ii. p. 217. Œcolampadius had been for a time a preacher in the Church of Basel, and had assisted Erasmus in editing the New Testament. See before, p. 310, and vol. ii. p. 534. At a later time his name was known, as that of one of the most liberal advocates of the Reformation, not following Luther, but contemporary with him or rather preceding him.

EPISTLE 821. Farrago ; Ep. vii. 43 ; C. 367 (354).

Erasmus to Œcolampadius.

It is a common experience, that the good things, which we have neglected when we had them, cause us the greatest sorrow when they are taken away. But in our case it is a happy circumstance, if the trouble, which I gave you when we were living together at Basel, has been driven from your remembrance by our separation. And such indeed is the candour of your Christian heart, that you put a favourable construction upon the faults of a friend, reckoning his small merits far above their value, while in your own case you are a more exacting judge.

* Lovanii, Id. Decemb., Anno M.D.XVIII.

Although my course of life calls me hither and thither, my main residence seems still to be at Louvain, where I have my library. But to whatever quarter we are driven, by land or sea, there is nowhere that we do not carry with us our specially beloved Æcolampadius.

We are meantime following Christ; but at a distance,—even as Peter did, when he was still weak; yet something it is to follow Him, even at a distance. Peter profited by this, and I hope we shall profit too, if only Jesus deign to cast His gracious eyes upon us. Happy you, who pass your leisure with the Spouse in the inmost recesses of the dwelling, your mind being occupied only with thoughts of Heaven. And you call that residence ‘a Cave’; I judge it rather a Paradise, especially when you have Brenz* as a companion in all your studies, who makes your solitude such, that you do not feel its weariness! There was once a time, when pious men, partly offended by the pleasures and the wickedness, which they saw about them among those who professed Christ in name, but denied Him in their lives, and partly afflicted by the incursions of Barbarians, sought the pathless seclusion of mountains and forests. We may now be still more pleased to escape from those, who, under pretext of Christianity, are labouring to extinguish the teaching of Christ.

But what is that tale you tell, that you were so wanting in duty as to envy your mother† so small a gift? Surely you are worthy of the very greatest, when in your gratitude you set such a value upon what are nothing.

In comparing the Translation of Jerome with the volumes

* Johann Brenz (Brentius), the Reformer, of Würtemberg, born 1499, author of the Würtemberg Confession and the Würtemberg Catechism, is mentioned in an epistle of Æcolampadius to Erasmus, translated in our second volume. Vol. ii. p. 535.

† We may conjecture that Erasmus had sent one of his books as a present to his correspondent's mother.

of the Hebrews, I do not doubt your judgment, and I pray that God may grant success to that work of yours. I should like the Index to be published as soon as possible, as I shall be one of those to whom it will be useful. Its completion will encourage many readers to turn over the pages of Jerome.

I do not guess clearly enough, what the 'Tragedy' means; I only advise you not to burden, with too great a variety of studies, your mental power and physical delicacy.

As to Melancthon, I have the best opinion of him; and the highest hope,—if it be only the will of Christ,—that, young as he is, he may long be spared to us! He will throw Erasmus utterly into the shade! Farewell.

Louvain [December], 1518.

The following Letter, Epistle 822, addressed to the Cardinal de Croy, has, like the last, no more distinct date than that of City and year,—Louvain, 1518,—and perhaps never had any other, the precise day of its writing being from the nature of its contents, not of importance. It contains an eloquent exhortation addressed to a young Church Dignitary, of whose early promotion we have read something in a previous page.* Nephew of the Minister De Chièvres, he had, at the age of about twenty years, been already made Bishop of Cambrai, Archbishop Coadjutor of Toledo, and a Cardinal. He appears to have been a pupil of Erasmus's correspondent, Adrian Baarland,† and to have in some way,—probably through his tutor,—expressed a wish to receive a letter from Erasmus. With this wish the latter was not unwilling to comply, in the hope that he might help to impress upon the mind of this juvenile prelate a serious sense of the responsibilities which were thus imposed upon him. In a letter of Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, dated 23 August, 1517, Epistle 599, the young Cardinal is described as a youth of about twenty years, and of a lively character. See before, p. 7.

* See before p. 7.

† About Baarland, see vol. ii. p. 600.

EPISTLE 822. Farrago ; Ep. xi. 6 ; C. 359 (349).

*Erasmus to William, Cardinal de Croy.**

Most excellent Prelate, and illustrious Prince, although we cannot reject, as altogether false, that old maxim of the disciples of the Porch,† that the sum of Human Happiness has its seat in the practice of Virtue, nevertheless the opinion of the Peripatetics seems to me to agree better with the Common Sense as well as the Common Life of Mankind,—denying, as they do, that the circle of Blessedness can be complete, unless three classes of Good Things are in agreement together, and receive from each other mutual protection and support. Among these Good Things, those which are attributed to the Mind,—as they most deserve the name of Good, and add most weight to the balance of Human Felicity, are chiefly provided by our own care and industry, so that we may owe the principal part of our blessings to none, after God, more than to ourselves,—if indeed we owe anything to ourselves.

It may be further observed, that in the endowments of Nature, seeing that we enjoy them without any exertion even when asleep, we are not so much blessed as fortunate,‡ though these also are maintained and even increased by our own care and study. Demosthenes, for example,—having naturally a feeble voice and a shortness of breath,§ with some lingual impediment besides, and, as a young man, a by no means happy figure, important as this is in an orator,—still by unsparing care and practice did not fail to overcome

* Guilielmo Croio Cardinali et Archiepiscopo Toletano Erasmus Roterodamus, S. D.

† Quod olim placuit Stoæ cultoribus. The Stoic philosophers.

‡ Non tam beati sumus quam fortunati.

§ cum et voce erat perquam exili, deinde spiritus.

all these disadvantages. Cicero in like manner, having naturally delicate health, so strengthened his constitution by the control of his movements and diet, as to be equal to the most trying labours even at a late period of life.

A further observation may be made, that those advantages of Fortune, which serve as instruments either in the growth or the practice of Virtue, come late in life to most of their possessors. In the acquisition of honours, or of riches, or of fame and dignity, a whole lifetime is by many so nearly expended, that with long continued care they seem to have gained nothing else but the privilege of dying in the possession of wealth or rank ; and the result is, that they neither themselves fully enjoy what they have made their own, nor can do much for their friends. In this respect your Highness * appears to me to have had a success without parallel,—whatever Nature could supply or Fortune confer, having come to you spontaneously, sufficiently, and in early life, so that you may be able to enjoy these advantages for the longest time, and to be of the utmost service to the greatest number of people. For beside a felicity of character, and a body perfectly framed for every use and function of virtue, so much authority, so much dignity, and so much wealth have been heaped upon you, on the one hand by the favour of the Supreme Pontiff, and on the other by the more than paternal affection of your uncle Chièvres, that scarcely anything further can be desired, and no summit of dignity remains but that which can be desired only for one.†

While therefore before others many a struggle remains, if they would rise to the summit of their felicity, for you, every thing else being provided, there is left only

* tua Sublimitas.

† Nec supersit ullum dignitatis fastigium, nisi quod uni tantum optari possit. No higher dignity could be attained by an ecclesiastic than this young churchman, already a Cardinal Archbishop, had already reached, unless he aspired to be Pope.

one study and one care,—that you may do that which I trust you are in fact doing,—that you may strive to attain such accomplishments of mind as may be worthy of the fortune you enjoy. These are conditions that are not lavished either by the favour of Nature or by the indulgence of Fortune, but must be earned by labour and by study; for at no other price have the Powers above permitted these wares to be purchased by mortals,—not even by Kings or by Satraps. He that crowns the monarch, whoever that official may be, cannot add a character worthy of a King. An illustrious ancestry or the favour of a nation may confer empire, but cannot add a mind worthy of empire; and yet in the absence of this, the honour so obtained is a burden and not a dignity, and he alone, after all, is truly great, who deprived of his diadem, will still remain so.

Most men are hindered by obscurity of birth, or by straitened circumstances, from winning their way to the eminent virtues which are only within the reach of those who are favourites of Jupiter; * or, if they do reach them, they have not a like power by their own merits to elevate others. But if there be a man, on whom alone, as once upon Pandora, all the gifts of all the gods have been conferred with the full approval of the entire chorus of Good men, he does indeed appear to me to have the likeness of Deity given by Supreme Goodness to the world, to extend his beneficence as widely as possible among mankind. And he will best succeed in fulfilling his duty, if he remembers, that whatever good things may be there, they are the property of his Lord, entrusted to him for this purpose, that by spending them in helping his neighbours,

* In this passage, and indeed throughout this letter, Erasmus surpasses himself in applying the prevailing Pagan phraseology to the qualifications of a Christian Bishop.

he may be paying a copious interest to his Master, who sets a high value upon such gains.

But first of all, let there be present a lofty mind, which holds in contempt the trifles admired by the sordid vulgar, and like a wall of brass, cannot be deflected from what is honest, and having everywhere followed this rule, directs the whole panoply of its own felicity to the support of the Common Weal, since this is what Antiquity has declared to be a special attribute of the Deity—*juvare mortalem*, to aid him that is mortal.† This is the image, which must be nearest approached by one, whom the Divine favour has placed in that highest position in which you stand. It may add a spur to his mind, if he thinks of himself as standing in the amplest of theatres with the eyes of the whole world fixed upon him,—that nothing is expected of him which is commonplace or vulgar, and that whatever he may say or do will be treated as an example by others. For indeed, if the players in a theatre are in constant anxiety to know in what manner they respond to the part they have undertaken, how much more careful should our Magnates be, that they answer to their own dignity and to the expectation of the world.

* * * * *

The more numerous are the titles with which Fortune has decorated you, so much the more earnestly should you strive to make your services answer to your honours. It is no great thing to accept the most ample dignity; to fulfil its duties is difficult indeed. Rightly has it been said,—It is sometimes more splendid to have deserved honour than to have obtained it. But the most splendid thing of all I judge it to be, to have reached the most ample dignity without canvassing for it, and so to answer its calls in every way, that you may not seem so much to be made illustrious yourself by obtaining it, as to increase its dignity by your

† This passage appears somewhat obscure, but has been closely translated.

tenure of it ; and it is no small part of the character of an excellent Prince, that he has made up his mind to be so. If this was ever to be hoped from any dignitary, of you certainly we have reason to anticipate it. * *

But whither am I carried away, forgetting that it is a letter which I am writing, and that to one whose good sense requires no counsel from me, but whose good fortune rather calls for congratulation? The advice which has been given you, that you should alternately practice your tongue and pen, has my entire approval, and I have been all the more ready to comply with your wish,—fully occupied as I otherwise am,—in order to challenge you to exercise the latter.

You have here a letter, in two senses badly written, and I am afraid no less prolix than ill-arranged. But in this respect you are bound to be indulgent, as you have challenged an Arab piper.† If you will deign to inscribe the name of Erasmus among those most nearly attached to you, I will promise you in return a distinguished place among my circle of Williams, since I observe that this name stands by some fatality in a friendly and prosperous relation to me. It would be a long story to count them all; but you will not, I think, be ashamed to stand in the same group with William, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Mountjoy, and William Budé.

In case the occasion should arise, on which your Highness may require any little service from me, you will lay your injunctions upon a person most desirous of gratifying you.

Louvain, 1518.‡

† qui tibicinem Arabium in te provocaris,—‘an Arab piper,’—whose performance, once started, it was difficult to stop. Erasmus, *Adagia*, Chil. I. vii. 32.

‡ Lovanio, Anno 1518. C.

We have read in a letter of Budé (Epistle 770, p. 335), that Henry Glarean had, on the death of Faustus Andrelinus, been appointed his successor, as Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Paris. The death of his own father at Basel (see p. 231), had since that time given occasion to Glarean to make a journey to the latter city; from whence he appears to have written a letter to Erasmus, which was received by his correspondent at Louvain, but has not been preserved. The following short Epistle was written by Erasmus in reply, to be delivered to his correspondent upon his return to Paris.

EPISTLE 823. Ep. ad Diversos; Ep. xv. 8; C. 377 (361).

Erasmus to Henry Glarean.

Your letter, brought hither from Basel, has been delivered to me by Jerome Froben. There has been no remission in my love for you, although of the vigour of this little body some fraction is daily diminished, either by age or by the ever increasing labour of my studies; but much more by the uneasiness inflicted upon me by those wranglers, who have entered into a conspiracy against Good Letters, as well as against sincere piety.

I do indeed congratulate you on having the company of John Lascaris; he retains his old character, as he has always shown the sincerest liking for promising talent. I trust that it may please God to grant him the longest of lives, to be spent in assisting the best of studies. And you, my Glarean, must so in every way prepare yourself, that, when we shall be ready, as we soon shall be, to pass on the Lamp, you may so take the place of Erasmus, as to throw his name entirely into the shade.

Farewell, and convey our greetings to Cyprian Taleus, Nicolas Béraud, Hermann Frieslander, and the others where you are, who wish us well.

Louvain, 1518.

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* Epistle 707, written by E. to Beatus Rhenanus, 6 Dec., 1517 (see p. 184), contains near the end,—as printed,—the following words, C. 1647 E. Paceus suis ad me litteris, jactat libellum *De Fructu Studiorum* abs te laudatum; and the last three words have been translated, p. 184, 'cited by you.' We should probably read, ab *eo* laudatum, 'praised by him,' that is, by Bombasius, who is named in the preceding lines. Pace had been encouraged to publish his book by the approval of Bombasius, who had visited him at Constance. Erasmus thought the book not worth publishing. *See* pp. 249, 250.

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